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JOHN FRANCIS GALAUP DE LA PÉROUSE.

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*Galang de la Pérouse (S.F.)*

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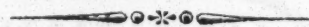
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THE VOYAGE  
OF  
LA PÉROUSE  
ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS 1785, 1786, 1787, AND 1788,  
WITH THE NAUTICAL TABLES.



Arranged by M. L. A. MILET MUREAU,  
Inspector of Fortifications and Member of several literary Societies at Paris.



TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,  
NARRATIVE OF AN INTERESTING  
*VOYAGE FROM MANILLA TO ST. BLAISE.*

AND ANNEXED,  
TRAVELS OVER THE CONTINENT,  
With the Dispatches of La Pérouse in 1787 and 1788,  
BY M. DE LESSEPS.



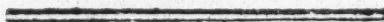
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

*Illustrated with Fifty-one Plates.*



IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE  
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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NAVIGATION, the most important bond of the great society of mankind, has in the present age been advanced nearly to perfection. It has been employed for purposes the most honourable to its patrons, to its conductors, and to human nature, and its narratives have excited a more universal interest than any other branch of literature. It has perfected the history of man, united the extremities of the earth in the mutual intercourse of peaceful commerce, and notwithstanding the temporary storms of revolution, has characterised the present century as its peculiar æra.

Englishmen, who have so much to boast among contending nations, will proudly remember that Cook stands in the highest rank both as a navigator, and a benefactor of his species: while France, our constant competitor, whether in discovery, in commerce, or in the arts, has attempted to rival us even at the extremity of the globe.



#### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

globe. With that spirit of emulative ambition which has ever marked her character, she planned the voyage detailed in the following pages; she consigned to the perils of the ocean men of the deepest science, and most brilliant talents in France, and her vessels sailed with an auspicious promise of the happiest success. Their ill fated end is now but too strongly confirmed. Europe will deplore that an expedition, which, like that of Cook, may be called a circumnavigation of charity and benevolence, should so fatally terminate in the destruction of all who embarked in it, and of a commander who seemed to vie with his great predecessor in the virtues and benevolences of a wise and prudent chief. Honourable and candid in his rivalry, he seems to exult in bestowing a just tribute of applause on him, whom he considers as his archetype, while his own narrative is modest, perspicuous, interesting, and important.

To a commercial nation, it is particularly desirable to receive the earliest and most accurate information of every geographical discovery. But while we regret that science and curiosity have been so long ungratified, and that the compiler of the narrative was not from among the actors in these novel scenes, few of whom escaped the general catastrophe; it is some consolation that the original journal, as the Editor assures us,

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#### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

is most faithfully adhered to, without ever deviating from the sense and meaning of the narrator. M. Millet Mureau appears to have justly conceived the duties of the undertaking, and the execution does honour to his taste and judgment. Versed in the accounts of former discoveries, and the sciences allied to navigation, he has illustrated the work by many valuable notes, for which, however, he is often indebted to our countrymen Cook, Dixon, Portlock and others; and when he ventures to differ from the opinion of his author, submits his own with a candour entitled to applause.

In one instance he has deviated from his accustomed liberality, in an unfounded suspicion of the veracity of Hearn. But this he retracts in a preliminary discourse \*. He constantly professes rather to collect materials for the speculation and enquiry of others, than to form systems for himself, a practice to which he declares himself an enemy.

\* Vide page xxxii. Where, as if it was his fate to wreak all his calumny on an opponent invulnerably secure in the armour of integrity, honour, and fidelity, he aims an invidious attack at that gentleman, which the publication of his narrative previous to the following pages, has rendered equally invalid with the former accusation, and must again expose him to the same humiliating recantation.



#### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

In reading the narratives of those who have visited savage nations, it is impossible to avoid contemplating with self-exultation, the superiority of civilized Man over a *state of nature*, which if it means any thing, signifies a state of ignorance, where cunning and treachery almost universally prevail. The mind is strengthened by the cultivation of the arts and sciences; Man in society alone perceives the mutual advantage of reciprocal good faith, and virtue flourishes under the banners of truth and general utility: while the ignorance of the Indian, which renders his pleasures uncertain and transient, is compensated by no one superiority of enjoyment, either mental or corporeal: nor does the most finished picture of savage life exceed a mere absence of care, or that inactive uninteresting tranquillity which civilization alone can render secure.

To expatiate further on the utility of this expedition is unnecessary. The Public interest and curiosity, which ever anticipate works of this nature, will not have been diminished by the unhappy fate of La Pérouse, his passengers and crews.

Accuracy being no less important in a translator than veracity in a traveller, the English Editor has been solicitous rather to convey the true meaning of his author, than to decorate his language



#### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

guage with graces foreign to the original. This principle, itself sufficiently obvious, acquires additional force from La Pérouse's express desire; he wished, that to avoid sacrificing sense to sound, as might happen in the unpolished phrases of the sea, and other technical terms, his narration, should it be published without his inspection, might be committed to the care rather of a seaman than a man of letters.

With this simple declaration the Translator would have submitted himself to the Public, had not a competitor appeared, whose agents, with the petulance of ungenerous rivalry, have misrepresented his design, and accused him of mutilating the original. Had it been possible sooner to complete the work, this calumny could not have been supported for a moment; and the Author only laments, sincerely laments, that the Public in general have seldom the inclination or the opportunity to enter into a comparison of the separate merits of those who appear as candidates for their favour. He is therefore unwillingly compelled to urge his claim to their protection, by stating his design and plan in the execution of the work.

Considering the Narrative and Tables of the first importance, particularly to the man of science and the navigator, he has given these, together

#### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

with all the memoirs and correspondence in a *complete and accurate* translation. The tables in particular must be viewed as the guide of future navigators, the clue to conduct them through the labyrinths of the South Sea Islands, the beacon to warn them from rocks, and shoals, and breakers, and to direct their course through the mists of the ocean. To have omitted these, or to have neglected their accuracy, would have been to endanger the lives of others, and render the labour of navigators fruitless. Of the preliminary papers, however, which are by no means equally important or interesting, it appeared more desirable for every class of readers to peruse, at most a copious abridgment, comprising every useful information without the circumlocution and redundancy, so frequent in official papers. To no Englishman could a detail of these minutiae, or voluminous catalogues of French names composing the crews of the vessels have been useful. It is with no small satisfaction that the Editor has availed himself of the vacancy this superfluous matter has afforded, to introduce a comprehensive abridgment of another expedition, that of M. de Lesseps over-land to Kamtschatka, which is no less interesting in itself than by its connection with that of La Pérouse, of the narrative of whose voyage it seems to



#### THE TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

to form a part. A full and accurate translation is also given of the voyage of the Spanish navigator Maurillo; and the whole illustrated by additional notes of the Translator.

Of the Engravings, which are numerous, little need be said. They are easily compared, and scarcely need challenge comparison to obtain the most decided preference. In the conditions of publication *forty* plates are promised, but the encouragement shewn to the work during its progress, has induced the Publisher to encrease their number to *fifty-one*.

It must be noticed, however, that many of the original drawings having arrived in France without corresponding descriptions, are so published; the French Editor having only ventured to add an account of a plant from Chili, written by M. Ventinat. In one place in particular the figures have been numbered, though unaccompanied by any reference in the work.



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Travels over the Continent.

The Plates to be placed in each Volume according to the  
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THE  
COMPILER'S PREFACE.

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THE Public, inured to the painful impression which must have been produced by the loss of the two vessels employed in the unfortunate expedition committed to the charge of la Pérouse, will be surprized at the publication of the journal of his voyage. The decree of the Constituent Assembly, which has ordered the impression of the charts and memoirs transmitted by that navigator, must, however, have announced that we were not entirely deprived of the fruit of that expedition. His sagacity engaged him not only to seize, but to seek for opportunities of sending his journals to Europe. It were to be wished that the self-love of the learned gentlemen, embarked with him, had permitted them, in like manner, to forego the fruit of their labours; we should not have had to regret the almost total loss of them.

La Pérouse, occupied with the difficult and numerous details, which the command of an expedition as important as perilous rendered necessary, constrained at every step to exercise judg-

ment and foresight, and consequently to modify his ideas conformably to circumstances, could not possibly collect in their order, nor digest methodically, the materials which were one day to enable him to compose the history of his voyage. Those materials must have appeared still more destitute of form in the eyes of a Compiler who had no part in that enterprize.

As nothing that can serve to promote the progress of the human mind ought to be neglected in voyages of discovery, persons of science and artists constitute an essential part of such expeditions: on their return, each one arranges his own materials, and gives to the particular object in which he was employed that degree of perfection of which he believes it to be susceptible: from a judicious union of these different parts a complete relation is obtained, in which the particulars appear in connection, and every thing is in its proper place. In the present case, through a fatality which has no example, our new Argonauts have all perished; and I am called upon alone to supply, by collecting what could be saved from the shipwreck, the true and energetic touch of navigators, who would not have said a word but what consisted with their personal experience.

In complying, not without reluctance, with  
the



the solicitations which induced me to engage in this painful though honourable undertaking, it was impossible for me to overlook the difficulties which I had to encounter in a work, all the parts of which no human faculties could equally embrace.

The Public will undoubtedly regret, with me, that the ex-marine-minister, Fleurieu, now a member of the National Institute and of the Board of Longitude, a scholar of rare and distinguished merit, who at first expressed a strong inclination to undertake himself the compilation of this work, has been obliged by circumstances to abandon his design.

The same interest which induced me to manifest, from the tribune of the Constituent Assembly, the most ardent zeal for the publication of this voyage, for the benefit of the respectable widow of la Pérouse, prompted me to direct the choice of government to a person possessed of maritime talents capable of replacing the gentleman who had been first appointed to the task : but France had already lost, in a great measure, the most distinguished of her naval officers ; the rest were fully employed, or had voluntarily retired. The minister could select only one who had at least made a study of the mathematical sciences and of physics, the essential basis of such

a work. The choice of a man possessed, in a superior degree, of those sciences was besides conformable to the intention of la Pérouse himself; for he wrote to one of his friends in words nearly to this effect: "Should my journal be sent to  
" the press before my return, let care be taken  
" not to commit the compilation of it to a man  
" of letters: for he will either take upon him to  
" sacrifice to an agreeable turn of expression the  
" proper term, which may appear to him harsh  
" and barbarous, but which the seaman and the  
" man of science would prefer, and will in vain  
" look for; or else, putting aside all the nautical  
" and astronomical details, and desirous of presenting to the world an interesting romance  
" merely, he will commit, through want of that  
" kind of knowledge which his education may  
" not have permitted him to acquire, errors  
" which shall prove fatal to my successors: but  
" select a compiler well versed in mathematical  
" science, one who is a master of calculation,  
" one capable of combining my data with those  
" of other navigators, of rectifying the mistakes  
" which may have escaped me, without making  
" others of his own. Such a compiler will go  
" to the bottom of the subject; he will suppress  
" nothing essential; he will present the technical details, in the blunt and rough, but concise  
" style,



“ style, of a seaman ; and he will well discharge  
“ the trust reposed in him by supplying my de-  
“ fects, and by publishing the work such as I  
“ myself would have wished to make it.”

Having made this wish of the author my constant rule, I advise that class of readers who have amusement for their sole object to proceed no farther ; I have not laboured for them, but only for the seaman and the man of science. I have endeavoured, in a work whose substance ought to have a preference to the form, and in which fidelity as to facts and exactness of expression are the most important qualities, to be clear and precise ; I have made no sacrifice to grace at the expence of truth. This acknowledgement is all the apology I make, at the same time that it solicits the indulgence of the reader.

In this view I have religiously respected the character of style employed by each author, simply adapting its forms to the received standard of language : but when any idea struck me which could serve to connect others, an expression which might complete an image, render it more prominent, or give to the phraseology more harmony, without altering the sense, I thought myself at liberty to employ it.

The work which is now presented would undoubtedly have been much more valuable, had

it proceeded from the pen of the ex-minister, Fleurieu, enriched as it must have been with his various and profound literature: I am bound at the same time to declare, that I have consulted him whenever I found myself in doubt; and I have ever found in him that complaisance and that modesty which are the inseparable attendants of real science and talents.

If to collect, to dispose, to digest in a proper manner, all the parts of such a work, was a difficult undertaking, the details relative to its publication, the pains, the researches, the exertions of every kind, which the most indefatigable zeal alone could have supported, and the delays necessarily occasioned by unforeseen accidents, seemed to render it impracticable.

The impression had been decreed in 1791, and no commencement was made in 1793, the æra when the labour devolved on me. A paper currency continually decreasing in value, dissolved the engagements made with artists, and with undertakers in every department, almost as soon as formed, or induced them to oppose to my efforts a most discouraging indolence, which formed its calculation on the prospect of a more fortunate futurity; an opinion, bordering on delirium, which then produced a forced accommodation to the times, in contradiction



dition to the truth of history, of the denominations, the usages of very different times, laid me under the necessity, in this respect, of remaining passive for more than a year; finally a new paper money, and embarrassment in the public finances, when gold and silver again appeared in circulation: these have been the physical and moral causes of the delay to which I have been forced to submit.

In order to enable me to conciliate the difficulties of compilation, arising out of the difficulties of the moment, it had been powerfully recommended to me to write the history of this voyage in the third person. By this means transformed into an historian, and appropriating to myself the materials intrusted to me, I removed the navigator to a distance, that I might place myself between the reader and him. This proposal has not seduced my vanity; I have sacrificed it to the interest which always inspires the man who relates what he has felt, who describes the painful situations through which he has passed, and renders you the associate of his pleasures as well as of his distresses.

If circumstances have involved me in fetters and obstacles during the progress of my labour, the result will at least demonstrate that Government has not ceased to protect the arts and

sciences through the whole course of the most astonishing of revolutions, which has excited against it a war as general as oppressive.

I have explained the nature and difficulties of the undertaking; it is now incumbent on me to say something respecting the form of the work, of its distribution, and of the care employed in the execution in every material point.

The title of *Voyage round the World* which I have given it, though not in strictness of speech due to it till the return of la Pérouse into one of our French ports, will assuredly not be disputed, as we may consider a voyage round the world to be completed, when, taking his departure from Europe, the navigator has arrived in China after doubling Cape Horn and crossing the South Sea. Besides, have not our navigators furnished, during the year of naval research which followed their arrival in China, a career much longer, more brilliant and more perilous, than that of simply their return to Europe?

The work, consisting of four volumes in octavo, and of an Atlas in quarto \*, is divided in the following manner :

The first volume contains all the preliminary

\* The Paris edition, from whence the plates of this translation are engraved, is four vols. 4to. and a folio volume of plates.



pieces relative to the expedition; I have only added to it the translation of a Spanish voyage, the manuscript copy of which has been transmitted by la Pérouse, and which I could place no where else without rendering the volumes of a size too unequal.

A celebrated author rescued from oblivion the magnanimous self-sacrifice of d'Assas, who devoted his own life to save the French army, calling aloud, *Here am I, Auvergne, that is the enemy.* The Society of Natural History at Paris had the merit of fixing the attention of the representatives of the nation on the expedition of la Pérouse, by the petition which they presented the 22d of January 1791. The National Assembly delayed not a moment to take it into consideration, however important the other subjects of deliberation in which they were engaged.

The two decrees which were the result of this, as honourable for the Assembly as for the persons who were the object of them, are placed at the head of the work. They breathe humanity and sensibility, and will announce for ever, to every one who shall form the resolution of walking in the footsteps of la Pérouse: “ When thou shalt  
“ have performed thy career through the quick-  
“ sands and dangers of every kind which surround  
“ thee, thou mayest rest assured, shouldst thou  
“ fall

“fall by the way, that a grateful country will  
 “honourably enrol thy name in the temple of  
 “Fame.”

I have not restricted myself to the practice of preserving the names of only the officers and scientific men employed in similar expeditions : the publication of an exact list of the ships' crews appeared to me to be an act more conformable to justice and to the spirit of the French government ; and I farther thought that this register might be henceforward the only mortuary extract which the families of our unfortunate navigators could produce.

The instructions and the geographical notes which follow, for which I am indebted to the minister of the marine, Fleurieu, are a model too precious to be with-held from the public eye : they constitute besides the only reply that I mean to give to a note of George Forster, which has a tendency to discredit the motives purely relative to the advancement of the sciences, which determined this expedition. It fills me with regret to think that a man whom I esteem should have expressed himself thus in his *Historical and Picturesque Tour along the Banks of the Rhine*, vol. i. pag. 311, of the French translation.

“At the period when the interesting and ill-  
 “fated la Pérouse took his departure to make  
 “new



“ new conquests for commerce and philosophy,  
“ a minister presented to the Council a memorial  
“ respecting the incalculable advantages of that  
“ enterprize. This memorial, though a long  
“ one, was read with avidity ; nevertheless it con-  
“ tained but a single idea, and here it is : *Would*  
“ *you wish, sire, said the minister, to divert the at-*  
“ *tention of your subjects from that dangerous an-*  
“ *glomania, from that passion for liberty, the de-*  
“ *clared enemy of peace and good order ; amuse*  
“ *them with new ideas, deceive their hours of leisure*  
“ *by images, whose poignant variety may furnish*  
“ *aliment to their frivolity. It were much better*  
“ *that they should employ themselves in contemplat-*  
“ *ing the ridiculous tricks of a Chinese monkey, than*  
“ *that they should persist in the present fashion of*  
“ *running mad after the horses and the philosophers*  
“ *of England.*”

The second and third volumes comprehend the journal of the totality of the voyage, and tables of the track of the two frigates, in which is to be found the result of the astronomical and meteorological observations.

We stand indebted to the progress made in astronomy for the means of determining, at present, the longitude at sea to a high degree of precision. To announce that the astronomer Dagelet, a member of the Academy of Sciences, undertook

dertook the superintendence of this part of the labour, is to inspire the most complete confidence respecting its exactness, and that of the tables and charts which result from it.

If the journal does not in every point coincide with the tables of the ship's track and with the charts, it arises from the impossibility of delaying the impression of the journal, till they were completely verified. At any rate these differences are neither frequent nor considerable ; when they occur, the preference ought to be given to the tables, and especially to the charts, which were executed under the direction of the first hydrographer of the marine, Buache, a member of the National Institute and of the Board of Longitude. I am bound here to acknowledge, with particular respect, the solicitude which that gentleman has discovered to support me in this important part of my engagement.

Through the whole course of the work, the longitudes, which are indicated by no particular meridian, are reckoned from that of Paris.

I have endeavoured to be exact in the orthography of proper names of persons and places ; but these last being as various in the relations, as the languages of their authors are different ; it was necessary to adopt, in transcribing such words indicative and merely of convention, the orthography



orthography most generally received, by combining it with the idiom of the country.

The fourth volume is composed of memoirs, or detached pieces transmitted to government by the scientific gentlemen employed in the expedition, and of those which I was able to collect. I had, for this purpose, made application to the late Academy of Sciences, and to individuals whom I suspected to have kept up a correspondence with the co-operators of la Pérouse, in order to obtain such memoirs as they might have communicated : but this labour was fruitless ; I could procure only those of which I found some scattered fragments in the journal of physicks, and I was at pains to place them together in this volume.

I have added, in the course of the work, a variety of notes, wherever I thought they could be useful ; and I have distinguished them by the initial letters of the words, COMPILER'S NOTE.\*

In order to facilitate research, I have terminated the work by a general table of the subjects contained in it.

The number, the magnitude and the beauty of the engravings and charts, made me determine to give them together in a separate atlas, and of a larger size. I thought that a national work, executed with so much care, well merited such a

\* In this translation, by the words—*French Editor*.

preservative precaution. If it is not generally approved, I have this to say for myself, that such is the form of the beautiful edition of *Cook's Third Voyage*, published by order, and at the expence, of the English government.

I have been under the necessity, in order to bring the work at length to conclusion, to distribute among a great number of engravers, the drawings at first committed to five artists of eminent ability: from this has resulted an unavoidable defect in point of uniformity and perfection; I have done my utmost to render this as imperceptible as it could be.

If this work be such as the Public had a right to expect from the materials put into my hands, and after the unexpected loss of our navigators, my most pleasing recompense will be to reflect, that I have fulfilled the views of Government, and that I contributed my efforts toward that monument of gratitude which it meant to rear to their memory.



## PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

BY

THE COMPILER.

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ALL Europe, in the favourable reception given to the relations of the modern voyages round the world, appears to have manifested a wish to promote the progress of the physical and natural sciences: but, it must be acknowledged, among the numerous amateurs of works of this kind, some have nothing in view but amusement merely; the object of others is to establish, by means of a self-complacent comparison between our manners and customs, and those of savages, the superiority of civilized man over the rest of mankind: men of science alone, and they are few in number, search for and find in them, almost always, materials which conduce to the increase of their stock of knowledge.

The relations of voyages of discovery may be reckoned among the most interesting books of modern history. Man, naturally fond of what is new and extraordinary, transports himself in thought into distant regions; he identifies himself with the navigator; he partakes in his dangers, his pains, his pleasures, and becomes his inseparable companion from the diversity of objects which attach him, and which furnish a constant supply of aliment to his curiosity.

In this last point of view, there can be no doubt that extracts from voyages, such as those which Prevost has given us, disengaged from all the dry and tiresome details which respect astronomy and navigation, may be more agreeable to read than the works

at

at large; but such extracts are not the sources from which the mariner and the man of science derive their supplies, because the materials thus passed through the crucible of the man of letters, from which they issued light and brilliant, no longer present the solid principle which constitutes science, and which is destroyed by the change it has undergone.

The authors or translators of works of the same kind with the present, have almost all of them given an enumeration of the voyages which preceded the one they were publishing, and of the discoveries which had resulted from them. They thus exhibited a picture of the successive acquisitions which geography had made, at the same time that they indicated the works which gave an account of them. I shall not repeat this detailed enumeration, which may be found elsewhere, but satisfy myself with giving a more complete chronological list of the principal navigators to whom we are indebted for discoveries in the South Sea:

|                                                                  |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Magellan, a Portugueze, in the service of Spain                  | 1519   |
| Garcia de Loaes or Loayfa, a Portugueze, idem                    | 1525   |
| Alphonzo de Salazar, a Spaniard                                  | - 1525 |
| Alvar Savaédra, a Spaniard                                       | - 1526 |
| Ferdinand Grijalva and Alvaredo, Spaniards                       | - 1537 |
| Gaétan, a Spaniard                                               | - 1542 |
| Alvar de Mendana, a Spaniard                                     | - 1567 |
| Juan Fernandez, a Spaniard                                       | - 1576 |
| Drake, an Englishman                                             | - 1577 |
| Thomas Candish, (Cavendish) an Englishman                        | - 1586 |
| Sir Richard Hawkins, an Englishman                               | - 1594 |
| Alvar de Mendana, a Spaniard                                     | - 1595 |
| Oliver de Nort, a Dutchman                                       | - 1598 |
| Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, and Luis Vaes de<br>Torres, Spaniards | } 1606 |
| George Spelberg, a Dutchman                                      | - 1614 |
| Le Maire and Schouten, Dutchmen                                  | - 1616 |
| L'Hermite, a Dutchman                                            | - 1623 |
| Abel Tasman, a Dutchman                                          | - 1642 |
| Anthony la Roche, a Frenchman                                    | - 1675 |
| Cowley, an Englishman                                            | - 1683 |
| Dampier,                                                         |        |



|                                                 |   |   |   |      |
|-------------------------------------------------|---|---|---|------|
| Dampier, an Englishman                          | - | - | - | 1687 |
| Davies, an Englishman                           | - | - | - | 1687 |
| John Strong, an Englishman                      | - | - | - | 1689 |
| Gemelli Carreri, a Neapolitan                   | - | - | - | 1693 |
| Beauchéne Gouin, a Frenchman                    | - | - | - | 1699 |
| William Funnel, an Englishman                   | - | - | - | 1703 |
| Wood Roger, an Englishman                       | - | - | - | 1708 |
| Louis Feuillée, a Frenchman                     | - | - | - | 1708 |
| Frézier, a Frenchman                            | - | - | - | 1712 |
| Gentil de la Barbinais, a Frenchman             | - | - | - | 1715 |
| John Cliperton and George Shelvocke, Englishmen | - | - | } | 1719 |
| Roggewein, a Dutchman                           | - | - | - | 1722 |
| Anson, an Englishman                            | - | - | - | 1741 |
| Le Hen-Brignon, a Frenchman                     | - | - | - | 1747 |
| Byron, an Englishman                            | - | - | - | 1764 |
| Wallis, an Englishman                           | - | - | - | 1766 |
| Carteret, an Englishman                         | - | - | - | 1766 |
| Pages, a Frenchman                              | - | - | - | 1766 |
| Bougainville, a Frenchman                       | - | - | - | 1766 |
| Cook, an Englishman                             | - | - | - | 1769 |
| Surville, a Frenchman                           | - | - | - | 1769 |
| Marion and du Clefmeur, Frenchmen               | - | - | - | 1771 |
| Cook, an Englishman                             | - | - | - | 1772 |
| Cook, Clerke and Gore, Englishmen               | - | - | - | 1775 |

Cook's last voyage was hitherto known only by the tragical end of the illustrious commander of that expedition, when France, availing herself of the leisure procured by the peace which had just been concluded, considered it as a duty which she owed to her own rank among the first maritime powers, and still more to her zeal, and to the means which she possessed for the advancement of the sciences, to issue orders for a voyage of discovery, that she might concur in carrying to perfection the knowledge of the globe which we have so long inhabited. If progress has been made in modern times in the exploration of unknown regions, if the position of each of the known parts of the globe is henceforth fixed, in a word, if every step we take brings us nearer to the object in view, we owe all to the improvement of

astronomical knowledge. This science gives us, in the distances of certain stars, whose motion is calculated with extreme precision, an infallible basis by which we are enabled to determine, with an accuracy sufficient for the security of navigation, the longitude in the middle of an immense ocean, where, till now, it had been impossible to settle it, except to an approximation in a great measure arbitrary, which exposed the navigator to mistakes of serious importance. This benefit of astronomy ensures, for the time to come, the success of our expeditions, and the perfecting of geography.

Means undoubtedly exist for accelerating this happy result of scientific research; and this is the place to suggest some ideas respecting an object of so great magnitude. These means might be combined into a system, in a species of Congress to be composed of agents commissioned by the principal maritime powers, which might wish to participate in the glory of such an enterprize.

The Congress, consisting of astronomers, hydrographers, and seamen, would make it their business to retrace all the ancient discoveries not completely verified till now; they would present a picture of all the parts of the globe where discoveries are still to be made, to be completed, or details to be communicated; they would prepare a view of the seasons in every latitude of the two hemispheres, of the prevailing winds, of the moonsons, of the currents, of the refreshments, of the assistance to be expected, &c.

Upon such a basis as this, a general instruction might be drawn up to be given to the commanders of a great expedition; and in order to prevent the direction of several projects to the same object, the totality of discoveries to be made might be divided among the maritime powers, regard being had to the possessions



possessions and settlements which might respectively facilitate the execution of such enterprizes.

If England, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Russia, the United States, and France, were to agree to defray the expence of an expedition every three years, it is next to a certainty that geography, in less than twenty years, would be brought to a state of perfection.

France would unquestionably have continued to favour the progress of geography, unless, for several years past, interests of a far different importance, and an expensive war, undertaken to maintain them, had entirely occupied her, and concentrated all her resources: but peace, by recalling in a great measure the attention of government to the arts and sciences, promises us new expeditions to be set on foot to promote them.

When such enterprizes are set afloat with enlarged views, all the sciences are gainers by them. Though the philosopher is not fond of shifting his place, the results of voyages do not the less on that account become a province of his domain: prompt to collect the observations of the mariner, he makes himself master of his ideas, unfolds them, connects them with the general system, by analyzing and classing the sensations which produced them, and thus give a new life to all the parts of the science.

If navigation thus improved must powerfully contribute to extend the boundaries of human knowledge, it is the part of government to stimulate in this respect the efforts of talent, to reward its successes, to collect and publish the discoveries, to receive and to reflect all the irradiations of thought, all the views of genius, and to attach to itself, over every point of the globe, the men who by their merit and their labours appertain to every country and to every age, without regard to their opinion respecting events already removed to a distance from us,

and of which nothing but the result need to be seen, and which may become favourable, when on the re-establishment of general peace the proposed plan may be put in execution.

This plan would bring forward the discussion of some important questions in geography, and particularly of that of an universal meridian; for there is no geographer but has experienced the inconveniences arising from the difference of meridians on which our charts have been laid down. It is necessary to guard continually against falling into errors; the smallest comparison to settle between two meridians requires an operation of addition or subtraction. This confusion is occasioned by navigators employing respectively, in the formation of their charts, the meridian adopted by their nation, or even by their frequently assuming one of their own. On the other hand, some in reckoning longitude proceed from the west, others from the east, counting up to 360 degrees. Others, and they are the majority among the moderns, have divided their longitudes into eastern and western: now, the difference between the meridians of the observatories of Europe being the same for the meridians of their antipodes, it is found, by this division to the east and to the west, that one longitude was, as in our hemisphere, western to the one, whereas it was eastern to the other. From this mistakes have resulted, which it would be easy to avoid by reckoning longitude uniformly up to 360 degrees, and by a general agreement to proceed westward. The only objection against this mode of reckoning is, that it does not constantly give, by the progression of the degrees, an idea of the distance; that is, that up to 180 degrees, the meridian of the antipodes, it is clearly perceptible that degrees mark distance; but on proceeding from that point, every one is not in a condition to comprehend that at 200 degrees of longitude,



tude, the distance from the meridian where the reckoning commenced is less than at 180, whereas by saying 160 degrees of east longitude, instead of 200 degrees of longitude, one sensibly perceives where he is.

It must be admitted that the objection against numbering the degrees up to 360 is very feeble, regard being had to the merit of a process simple and secured from error; a merit which should make us overlook the inconsiderable number of persons who will not learn to comprehend the smallness of the distance between their own meridian and that of  $359^{\circ} 59'$ .

The advantage resulting from the mode of reckoning longitude up to 360 degrees, is however a matter of little importance compared to that of the adoption of a common meridian to serve, in future, as the basis of the geography of all nations. It is abundantly sensible that the self love of each of them will make incessant efforts to cry up and prefer its own. Putting aside every consideration of this sort, the meridian which, it would appear, is the most proper to assume, in that it passes over very little land, and leaves the meridians of the maritime powers of Europe to the east, is that of the remarkable peak which Nature seems to have placed in the midst of the ocean, to serve as a pharos to navigators; I mean the peak of Teneriffe. A pyramid constructed at the expence of the associated powers might be raised on the point through which the meridian line should pass; and a board of astronomers, chosen from among the members of the proposed congress, would determine, by a series of operations, the exact differences between this common meridian, and that of the grand observatories of the two worlds.

These operations, to which the perfection of the means we possess would ensure the highest degree of accuracy, must remove all uncertainty of calculation,

lation, respecting the quantities to be added or subtracted, in comparing meridian with meridian; they would annihilate the differences produced in the results of their comparison obtained at different epochs, and which may be taken for errors, if we lose sight of this fact, that astronomers, after new observations, made with greater attention, and by the assistance of better instruments, have changed the relations of distance settled between the meridians of the observatories of Paris and Greenwich. That distance, which was fixed at  $2^{\circ} 19'$ , is now ascertained to be  $2^{\circ} 20'$ : nay, if a rigorous precision were exacted, it ought to be carried to  $2^{\circ} 20' 15''$ , or  $9' 21''$  of time, making allowance for the flattening, supposing it  $\frac{1}{300}$ , according to the observations of the astronomer, Lalande, with whose merit the world is well acquainted, and whose calculations unite, to a very high degree, perspicuity and precision.

The idea of a common meridian, which I present at the head of a journal of an important voyage, arose from the reflections suggested to me by the examination of that work, while employed in the labour of compilation; it smiled upon me as I proceeded in that undertaking: it possibly may not be universally relished; but I must be permitted to form a wish for its adoption, till the inconveniences attending it, if there be any, are pointed out.

This new meridian leaves, at least, our immense geographical materials in all their value; were it not for that, the idea of it ought to be rejected, as I reject, for the present, though with no small regret, that of the new division of the circle, because it presents the serious defect of almost annihilating them. This needs to be explained, and cannot be considered as a digression from my subject.

More than any one I am acquainted with the partisan of decimal calculation, which has been treated with so much accuracy in the writings of the



the learned and ingenious Borda, as well as in those of the other members of the temporary board of weights and measures; I cannot however disguise the inconveniences of the division of the circle into 400 degrees. They are such, that it would require the lapse of several ages, from the epoch of its general adoption, completely to obliterate them, during which it would be necessary to preserve both divisions, in order to facilitate the labour of comparing our new charts with those of other powers, and with the ancient materials in geography.

If the portion of time known by the name of day admits of the decimal division, the sun, in his annual revolution, cannot be reduced to it. Since there is, therefore, in nature, a boundary at which decimal calculation stops, and as it cannot divide the period of a solar revolution, wherefore should it be adapted to the division of the circle?

It will be alleged, that this division of the circle into 400 degrees is perfectly in unison with that of the day into ten hours, of the hour into 100 minutes, and of the minute into 100 seconds; which makes one degree of the circle correspond to two minutes and a half of time. It will be farther observed, and with good reason, that the basis of all measurements, called *mètre*, being taken in nature, and formed of the ten-millionth part of the quarter of the meridian, there results from it a natural decimal division, as the degree is found to contain a hundred thousand metres, or twenty leagues of five thousand metres each: but these advantages, and that of presenting, in general, a constant scale in the degree, and its subdivisions, cannot counterbalance the inconveniences which result from the changes proposed.

The grand idea of rendering weights and measures uniform, has produced the sublime one of looking for the standard of them in nature. That

standard is precisely such, in fact, as we would have found it among a nation well informed and new to us, had it made the same progress in the arts and sciences, and had it conceived, as we have done, the project of establishing the uniformity of weights and measures, by seeking the basis of it in nature.

What opportunity more favourable for discussing the advantages and the inconveniences of adopting an uniformity of weights and measures, and that of the decimal division, than that of a congress, consisting of the representatives of the most illustrious scientific societies in the world! If the different governments would agree to admit this uniformity in every case in which it would be deemed useful, its simultaneous and universal reception would double the benefit of it; and then would be the time to make the greatest effort to overcome the difficulties of its application to the division of the circle and the measurement of time.

What power preferably to France would henceforth, by an influence equally extensive and commanding, realize the plan of such a congress? As great in her enterprizes as in her conceptions, in her operations as in her views, she determined, as I have said, to set on foot a voyage of discovery; the project agreed upon was adopted by government: the preliminary instructions will demonstrate that it was as vast as ably conceived, in the totality and in the details. A commander in chief, of acknowledged ability, was requisite to conduct the expedition: La Pérouse was selected. His exertions, and his constant successes, in military marine enterprizes, had inured him to the approach of every species of danger, and rendered him fitter than any man to pursue the painful and perilous career of a long navigation over unknown seas, and through the midst of countries inhabited by barbarous nations. I feel an obligation  
to



to the reader, on this subject, to enter into certain details respecting the life of this celebrated and ill-fated officer.

John Francis Galaup de la Pérouse, commodore in the navy of France, was born at Albi, in the year 1741. Admitted at an early age into the marine school, his first attention was turned toward the illustrious navigators who had raised the reputation of their country, and from almost the first moment he formed the resolution of pursuing their track; but, enabled to advance but by slow degrees in this difficult career, he prepared himself, by feeding his mind in advance with the fruit of their labours, to become one day their equal. He had united betimes experience to theory. He already completed eighteen naval campaigns, when the command of the last expedition was confided to him. Appointed midshipman November 19, 1756, he served at first five campaigns in a war with England: the first four on board the *Célèbre*, the *Pomone*, the *Zephyr*, and the *Cert*; and the fifth on board the *Formidable*, commanded by St. André du Verger. This vessel was one of the squadron under the command of the *Mareschal de Conflans*, when it fell in with the English fleet off *Bellisle*. The ships of the rear division, the *Magnifique*, the *Hero*, and the *Formidable*, were attacked and surrounded by eight or ten sail of the enemy. The engagement commenced and became general; it was so desperate, that eight vessels, English or French, went to the bottom during the action, or run a-ground, and were burnt on the coast of France. The *Formidable* alone, more roughly handled than the rest, was taken after a vigorous resistance. *La Pérouse* displayed singular bravery in this combat, and was severely wounded.

Restored to his country, he served in the same rank three campaigns more on board the *Robuste*: here  
he

he distinguished himself in several trying situations; and his rising merit began to attract the attention of his superiors.

October 1st, 1764, he was promoted to the rank of signal officer. A man of a less active disposition would have enjoyed the sweets of peace; but a passion for the profession which he had embraced, permitted him not to remain unemployed. It is sufficient, in order to form a judgment of his indefatigable activity, to cast an eye over the outline of his military and naval existence from that era up to the year 1777. He was,

- In 1765, on board the Adour, armed en flute;
- 1766, on board Le Gave, armed en flute;
- 1767, he commanded l'Adour, armed en flute;
- 1768, he commanded the Dorothee;
- 1769, he commanded the Bugalet;
- 1771, on board the Belle-Poule;
- 1772, *ibid*;
- 1773, } He commanded the Seine, en flute,
- 1774, } and Les Deux Amis, on the coast of
- 1775, } Malabar; his lieutenant's commis-
- 1776, } sion bears date April 4th, 1777.
- 1777, }

The year 1778 rekindled the war between France and England; hostilities commenced June 17th, by the capture of the Belle-Poule.

In the year 1779, La Pérouse commanded the Amazone, one of the squadron under the command of vice-admiral d'Estaing. Appointed to cover the landing of the troops at Grenada, he anchored within pistol-shot of one of the enemy's batteries. In the engagement of this squadron with that of admiral Byron, he was charged with carrying the orders of the commander in chief over the whole line. Finally, he captured, on the coast of New-England, the Ariel frigate,



frigate, and assisted in the capture of the Experiment.

Appointed Captain April 4th, 1780, he commanded the frigate *Astrea*, when being on a cruize with the *Hermione*, commanded by Captain La Touche, he fought, July 21st, a very obstinate battle with six English ships of war, six leagues off the north cape of l'Isle Royale. Five of these ships, the *Allegiance* of 24 guns, the *Vernon* of the same force, the *Charlestown* of 28, the *Jack* of 14, and the *Vulture* of 20, formed a line to receive them; the sixth, the *Thompson* of 18 guns, kept out of cannon shot. The two frigates advanced together upon the enemy with all their sails set. It was seven o'clock in the evening when the first gun was fired. They extended the English line to leeward, to cut off all hopes of escaping. The *Thompson* kept still to windward. The two frigates manœuvred so dexterously, that the English little squadron was soon thrown into disorder: in little more than half an hour, the *Charlestown*, which bore the commodore's pendant, and the *Jack*, were obliged to strike; the other three ships would have shared the same fate, had not the night saved them from the pursuit of the two frigates.

The year after, the French government formed the design of taking and destroying the English settlements in Hudson's Bay. *La Pérouse* was deemed a proper person for executing this painful service, in seas of difficult navigation. He received orders to sail from Cape François, May 31st, 1782. He commanded the *Sceptre*, of 74 guns, and was attended by the *Astrea* and *Engageante* frigates, of 36 guns each, commanded by captains De Langle and La Jaille: there were embarked on board this squadron 200 infantry, 40 artillery men, four field pieces, two mortars, and 300 bombs.

July 17th, he came up with Resolution Island; but

but scarcely had he advanced 25 leagues in Hudson's Strait, when he found his ships entangled among the ice, by which they received considerable damage.

On the 30th, after a constant struggle with obstacles of every species, he got sight of Cape Walsingham, situated in the most westerly part of the strait. In order to arrive expeditiously at Fort Prince of Wales, which he proposed immediately to attack, he had not a single moment to lose, the rigour of the season obliging all vessels to quit those seas early in September: but as soon as he had fairly entered Hudson's Bay he was involved in thick fogs; and on the 3d of August, when it began to clear up, he saw himself surrounded by ice as far as the eye could carry, which forced him to make for the cape. He triumphed nevertheless over these obstacles; and, toward evening on the 8th, having descried the flag of Fort Prince of Wales, the French ships made for it, sounding till they came within a league and a half, and anchored in 18 fathom water, on a bottom of mud. An officer, sent to reconnoitre the approaches to the fort, reported that the vessels could be safely moored a little way off. *La Pérouse* having no doubt that the *Sceptre* alone could not easily reduce the enemy, should they resist, made preparation for effecting a landing in the night time. Though retarded by the tide and the darkness, the boats reached the land without meeting any opposition, about three quarters of a league from the fort. *La Pérouse*, observing no defensive disposition made, though the fort appeared in a condition to make a vigorous resistance, ordered the enemy to be summoned. The gates were thrown open; the governor and garrison surrendered at discretion.

This part of his orders being executed, he set sail, August 11, for Fort York: in order to reach it, he had to encounter dangers still greater than those which



which he had hitherto experienced ; he sailed in six or seven fathom water, along a coast of continued rocks and quicksands. After running through risks innumerable, the Sceptre and the two frigates discovered the entrance into Nelson's river, and anchored, August 20th, about five leagues from shore.

La Pérouse had taken three decked boats at Fort Prince of Wales ; he sent them, with the Sceptre's boat, to reconnoitre Hayes' river, near which stands Fort York.

On the 21st of August, the troops embarked on board the boats ; and La Pérouse, having nothing to fear from the enemy by sea, thought it his duty to direct the debarkation in person.

The isle of Hayes, on which Fort York stands, is situated at the mouth of a great river, which it divides into two branches ; that which passes before the fort is called the river of Hayes, and the other Nelson's river. The French commander knew that all the means of defence were placed upon the former ; there was besides a vessel belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, carrying 24 nine pounders, moored at the mouth of the river. He determined on forcing his way up Nelson's river, though his troops would have, in this direction, to perform a march of about four leagues ; but he thereby gained the advantage of rendering useless the batteries planted on the river of Hayes.

He arrived on the evening of the 21st, at the mouth of Nelson's river, with 250 soldiers, the mortars, the cannon, and provisions for eight days, that there might be no necessity to depend on the ships, the communication with which was extremely difficult. La Pérouse gave orders for the great boats to anchor in three fathoms water, in the mouth of the river, and advanced himself in his long-boat, with the second in command Langle, the commander of the troops to be landed Rostaing, and Monneron, captain

captain of artillery, to sound the river and examine the banks, on which he apprehended the enemy might have provided some means of defence.

This operation demonstrated that the river was inaccessible; the smallest boats could get no nearer than about a hundred fathom, and the bottom from that to the dry land was a soft mud. He thought it prudent, therefore, to remain at anchor, and to wait for the return of day-light; but the tide losing much more than he had reckoned upon, the boats were left dry at three o'clock in the morning.

Irritated by this obstacle, but not in the least discouraged, all the troops disembarked; and after having walked for near a mile in the mud up to mid-leg, they at length gained a green field, where they drew up: thence they marched in order towards a wood, where they laid their account with finding a path which would lead to the fort. No one could be discovered, and the whole day was employed in seeking for roads which had no existence.

La Pérouse ordered Monneron, the captain of engineers, to trace one by the compass through the middle of the woods. The execution of this extremely painful service discovered that there were two leagues of a morass to be crossed, in which the men frequently sunk up to the knees in mud. A gale of wind, which sprung up in the night, forced the restless La Pérouse to return to the ships. He reached the shore; but, the tempest continuing, he could not get on board. He availed himself of an interval of moderate weather, and next day reached his ship, an hour before a second gale came on. An officer, who set off at the same time with him, was shipwrecked: he had, as well as his boat's crew, the good fortune to gain the land; but they could not return on board till the end of three days, naked and perishing with hunger. The Engageante and the



the *Astrea* lost two anchors each, in the second gale of wind.

Nevertheless the troops arrived before the fort on the morning of the 24th, after a very troublesome march, and it was surrendered on the first summons. La Pérouse ordered the fort to be destroyed, and the troops immediately to re-embark.

These orders were rendered ineffectual by a new gale of wind, which exposed the *Engageante* to the greatest dangers; her third anchor broke, as well as the tiller of the helm, and her longboat was carried away. The *Sceptre* likewise lost hers, her pinnace and an anchor.

At length fine weather returned, and the troops were re-embarked. La Pérouse, having on board the governors of forts York and Prince of Wales, set sail to bid adieu to those latitudes, abandoned to storms and ice, in which military success, obtained without the slightest resistance, had been preceded by so much pain, danger, and fatigue.

If La Pérouse, as a military commander, was under the necessity of conforming to the strict orders which he had received of destroying the enemy's settlements, he forgot not at the same time the respect due to calamity. Having discovered that on his approach some of the English had made their escape into the woods, and that his departure, considering the destruction of the settlements, exposed them to perish with hunger, and to fall defenceless into the hands of savages, he had the humanity to leave them provisions and arms.

Can there be, on this subject, an elogium more flattering than this sincere acknowledgment of an English seaman, in his relation of a voyage to Botany Bay? "We are bound to recollect with gratitude, in England especially, that humane and generous man, for the conduct which he observed in acting under

“under orders to destroy our settlements in Hudson’s Bay, in the course of the last war.”

After a testimony so just and so conformable to truth, and at a period when the English nation has acquired so much merit with the friends of the arts and sciences, by her zeal to publish the results of the voyages of discovery which she has ordered, shall we be under the necessity of reproaching another English military character with a breach of faith pledged to La Pérouse?

Governor Hearn had, in 1772, performed a journey over land, toward the north, taking his departure from Fort Churchill; a journey of which the detailed account is expected with much impatience. The manuscript journal of it was found by La Pérouse among the papers of that governor, who insisted that it should be restored to him as his private property. This journey, however, having been undertaken by orders of the Hudson’s Bay company, in the view of acquiring farther knowledge of part of North America, the journal might well be considered to belong to that company, and, consequently, to have devolved to the conqueror: nevertheless, La Pérouse, from motives of pure benevolence, yielded to the solicitations of Governor Hearn; he restored him the manuscript, but under the express condition that he would have it printed and published immediately upon his return to England. This condition does not appear to have been hitherto fulfilled: but it is to be hoped that the remark now made, and laid before the public, will produce the effect intended, or, at least, induce the governor to make it known whether the Hudson’s Bay company, from an aversion to have the proceedings of their commerce disclosed, has forbidden the publication of it.\*

\* This anecdote had not come to my knowledge when I wrote the note to be found in a subsequent part of this volume.



The era of the re-establishment of peace with England, in 1783, terminated this naval campaign. The indefatigable La Pérouse did not enjoy long repose; a more important expedition awaited him: alas! it was to be his last. He was destined to take the command of an intended voyage round the world, for which preparations were making at Brest.

I shall not conform to the common practice, by indicating beforehand the track which our navigator pursued through the two hemispheres, the coasts, and the islands, which he explored or revisited in the Pacific Ocean, the discoveries which he made in the seas of Asia, and the important services which he has rendered to geography: I make this sacrifice to the Reader, whose curiosity will rather be excited than anticipated, and who will undoubtedly be better pleased to follow our navigator himself in his course.

Hitherto I have considered La Pérouse only as the military man and the navigator: but he deserves to be equally known for his personal qualities; for he was not less capable of gaining the affections of men of all countries, or of commanding their respect, than of foreseeing and overcoming the obstacles which human sagacity is permitted to surmount.

Uniting to the vivacity of the inhabitants of southern countries, an agreeable humour and an even temper, his gentleness and amiable gaiety made his conversation to be always eagerly courted. On the other hand, matured by long experience, he joined to uncommon prudence that firmness of character which is the portion of a vigorous mind, and which, strengthened by the painful kind of life to which a seaman is doomed, qualified him for attempting, and for conducting, with success, the most arduous enterprises.

From the union of these different qualities, the Reader, himself witnessing his unconquerable patience

in exertions governed by circumstances, the severe conduct which his foresight dictated, the measures of precaution which he employed with the people whom he visited, will not be greatly astonished at the beneficent and moderate, as well as circumspect, behaviour of La Pérouse toward them, at the confidence, nay sometimes the deference, which he expressed for his officers, and at the paternal care which he exercised over his crews: nothing that could interest them, either by preventing their distress, or promoting their welfare, escaped his vigilance or his solicitude. Not wishing to convert a scientific enterprize into a mercantile speculation, and leaving entirely the profits of the objects of interchange as a benefit solely to the seamen of the crew, he reserved for himself the satisfaction of reflecting that he had been useful to his country and to the sciences. Perfectly well seconded in his attentions to the preservation of their health, no navigator ever performed a voyage of so long duration, or of such vast extent, through an incessant change of climate, with crews so healthy; for, on their arrival at New Holland, after being thirty months at sea, and running over a track of more than sixteen thousand leagues, they were in as good health as when they left Brest.

Master of himself, and never giving way to first impressions, he was in a condition to reduce to practice, especially on this expedition, the precepts of a sound philosophy, friendly to humanity. Were more disposed to compose his elogium, necessarily isolated and incomplete, than to leave to the Reader the pleasure of forming an estimate of him from facts clothed with all their circumstances; and of founding a judgment on his writings taken together, I might quote a multitude of passages from his journal, the character and turn of which faithfully paint the man, and which I have preserved as a precious treasure. I might shew him, in a particular manner, ad-  
hering



hering scrupulously to that article of his instructions, engraven upon his heart, which directed him to avoid the shedding of a single drop of human blood; having followed it constantly through a voyage of such length, with a success due to its principles; and, when attacked by a barbarous horde of savages, he had lost his second in command, a naturalist, and ten men of the two crews, notwithstanding the powerful means of vengeance which he possessed, and motives so excusable to employ them, he restrained the fury of his men, fearing to strike a single innocent victim among thousands of the guilty.

Equitable and modest, as well as enlightened, we shall see with what respect he makes mention of the immortal Cook, and how zealous he is to do justice to the great men who had preceded him in the same career.

Equally just to all, La Pérouse in his journal and in his correspondence, dispenses with impartiality the praises to which his coadjutors are entitled. He likewise makes grateful mention of the strangers who, in different parts of the world, received him with kindness, and procured assistance for him. If government, as there is no room to doubt, means to fulfil the intentions of La Pérouse, it owes to these last a public token of acknowledgment.

Valued according to his worth by the English navigators who had an opportunity of knowing him, they have given him an unequivocal testimony of esteem in their writings.

All who enjoyed his intimacy have pronounced his just elogium, but it would be endless to descend to particulars.

To speak, however, of his virtues, of his talents, is to recollect his misfortunes, is to awaken our own regret: the idea of the one is henceforward inseparably connected with the recollection of the other; and they lay the foundation for perpetuity of a monument

ment of sorrow and gratitude in the heart of every friend of the sciences and of humanity. If I feel any emotion of delight at the close of the painful labour which this work required, and after the care and trouble which it cost me up to the day of publication, it is undoubtedly at this instant, when I am permitted to be the organ of the French republic, in paying to his memory a tribute of national gratitude.

La Pérouse, after his last letters from Botany Bay, was to have gone to the Isle of France, in 1778.\* The two following years having elapsed, the important events which occupied and fixed the attention of all France, could not divert her attention from the fate which seemed to threaten our navigators. The first expressions of solicitude on the subject, the first accents of fear and sorrow, issued from the bar of the National Assembly, through the organ of the members of the Society of Natural History.

“For these two years,” said they, “France has to no purpose been looking for the return of M. de la Pérouse; and those who take an interest in his person and in his discoveries, are totally in the dark as to his fate. Alas! that which they suspect, is perhaps still more terrible than that which he actually endures; and perhaps he has escaped death only to be subjected to the incessant torment of a hope continually reviving and continually disappointed; perhaps he may have suffered shipwreck on one of the islands of the South Sea, from whence he stretches forth his hands toward his country, and in vain expects a deliverer. . . . .”

“It was not in the pursuit of frivolous objects, or for his private advantage, that M. de la Pérouse has braved danger of every kind; the generous nation which was to have reaped the fruit of his labours, owes him likewise her interest and her aid.”

\* See vol. ii. extracts from two letters of La Pérouse, dated Botany Bay, February 7th, 1788.



“ We are already informed of the loss of many of  
“ his companions, swallowed up by waves, or mas-  
“ sacred by savages : cleave to the hope which re-  
“ mains to us, of recovering such of our brethren as  
“ may have escaped the fury of the billows or the  
“ rage of cannibals ; let them return to our shores,  
“ were they even to die of joy in embracing this land  
“ of liberty. . . . . ”

The demand of the Society of Natural History, received with the most lively interest, was followed up soon after by the law which directed the arming of two frigates to go in quest of La Pérouse.

The motives which dictated this decree, the very terms of the report discover the tender and affecting interest which our navigators had inspired, and the ardor with which, from a desire to find them again, a single ray of hope was eagerly caught at, without reflecting on the great sacrifices which this voyage of research demanded.

“ For a long time our vows call for M. de la Pé-  
“ rouse, and the companions of his glorious, too pro-  
“ bably, also, of his unfortunate voyage.”

“ The Society of Naturalists of this capital is come  
“ to tear asunder the vail which you dared not to raise  
“ up ; the mourning which they have announced is  
“ become universal ; and you have appeared to em-  
“ brace, with transport, the idea which has just been  
“ suggested to you, of sending out ships in search of  
“ M. de la Pérouse. You have given orders to your  
“ committees of the marine, of agriculture, and com-  
“ merce, to present you with their views respecting an  
“ object so deeply interesting : the sentiment which  
“ appeared to determine your resolution, has likewise  
“ dictated their opinion.”

“ There scarcely remains to us the consolation of  
“ doubting on the subject : M. de la Pérouse has  
“ suffered some dreadful disaster.”

“ It is impossible for us reasonably to hope that

“ his vessels are at this moment ploughing the surface of the deep. That navigator and his companions are either now no more ; or else, thrown on some dismal shore, lost in the immensity of innavigable seas, and confined to the extremities of the world. They are, perhaps, contending with inclemency of climate, with ferocious animals, with men, with all nature, and calling for assistance on their country, which can only form conjectures about the calamity which may have befallen them. Stranded, perhaps they are, upon some unknown coast, upon some barren rock : there, if they have been so fortunate as to fall into the hands of a hospitable people, they breathe ; but nevertheless, still implore your aid ; or if they have been cast upon a bare solitude, wild fruits and shell-fish are the only support of their existence : fixed on the shore, their eyes travel along the face of the ocean in search of some auspicious sail which might waft them back to France, to their families, to their friends.”

“ Reduced to embrace an idea which is, perhaps, nothing more after all than a pleasing error, you are disposed undoubtedly, as we are, to prefer this conjecture to the overwhelming idea of their total loss : it is that which the Society of Naturalists of Paris have just presented to you ; it is that which M. de la Borde had before impressed on every heart possessing sensibility, in a memorial read before the Academy of Sciences.”

“ But if you are affected, if you are struck with this idea, it will be impossible for you any longer to give yourselves up to impotent regret : humanity requires it ; we must fly to the relief of our brethren. Alas ! where shall we go to look for them ? Whom have we to interrogate concerning their destiny ? Is it possible to explore all the coasts of seas in some measure unknown ? Is it possible to touch at all the



“ the islands of those immense archipelagos which  
“ present so many dangers to the mariner ? Is it pos-  
“ sible to visit all the gulfs, to penetrate into all the  
“ bays of the ocean ? Is it not even possible, on  
“ reaching the island which might contain them, to  
“ land on one point, and leave them on another ? ”

“ The difficulties are undoubtedly great, the suc-  
“ cess is more than hopeless; but the motive of the en-  
“ terprize is powerful. It is possible that our ill-fated  
“ brethren may be stretching out their arms toward  
“ us, it is not impossible that we should restore them  
“ to their country ; and henceforth we are no longer  
“ permitted to recede from an attempt which cannot  
“ but do us honour. We owe this interest to the  
“ men who have devoted themselves ; we owe it to  
“ sciences, which are expecting the fruit of their re-  
“ searches : and, what ought to increase this interest,  
“ M. de la Pérouse was not one of those adventurers  
“ who thrust themselves on great enterprizes, either  
“ to procure for themselves an illustrious name, or  
“ to make them subservient to the raising of their for-  
“ tune ; he had not even discovered the ambition of  
“ commanding the expedition entrusted to his care ;  
“ he could have wished it had been in his power to  
“ refuse it ; and when he accepted the command,  
“ his friends well knew that it was an act of pure re-  
“ signation. . . . . ”

“ Fortunately we know the track to be pursued in  
“ a research so painful ; fortunately we can put into  
“ the hands of the persons to be charged with this  
“ affecting mission, the conducting thread of the  
“ perilous labyrinth which they have to trace. ”

“ The proposal of a research which humanity en-  
“ joins, cannot be carried to this tribune to be com-  
“ batted by the maxims of parsimony, or to be dis-  
“ cussed by cold reason, when it ought to be decided  
“ purely by feeling. ”

“ This expedition will be to M. de la Pérouse, or  
“ to

“to his memory, the most glorious recompence with  
“which you can honour his services, his self-dedica-  
“tion or his misfortunes. Thus it becomes a great  
“nation to dispense rewards.”

“Acts like this confer celebrity on the nation also  
“which has the spirit to perform them; and the sen-  
“timent of humanity which gives them birth, will  
“characterize the age in which we live. It is no  
“longer to invade, and to ravage, that the European  
“penetrates into latitudes the most remote, but to  
“introduce into them enjoyment and benefits; it is  
“no longer to rob them of corruptive metals, but to  
“subdue those useful vegetables which contribute to  
“the support and delight of human life. Finally,  
“there will be seen, and the savage tribes will not  
“be able to contemplate it without the meltings of  
“sympathy, there will be seen, at the extremity of the  
“globe, piously affectionate navigators demanding  
“information with interest, concerning the destiny  
“of their fellow sailors, of the men and the deserts,  
“of the caves and the rocks, and even of shelves and  
“quickfands; there will be seen on seas the most per-  
“fidious, in the sinuosities of archipelagos the most  
“dangerous, around all those islands peopled with  
“anthropophagi, men wandering about in search of  
“other men, to precipitate themselves into their  
“arms, to succour and to save them.”

Scarcely had the ships dispatched in quest of La  
Pérouse taken their departure, when a report was  
circulated that the Captain of a Dutch vessel sailing  
through the Admiralty Islands, to the west of New  
Ireland, had perceived a canoe manned by the natives,  
who appeared to him to be dressed in the uniforms of  
the French marine.

General d'Entrecasteaux, who commanded the  
new expedition, having put in to the Cape of Good  
Hope, heard this report. Notwithstanding its want  
of authenticity and of probability, he did not hesitate  
a single



a single instant; he changed the track which he had proposed to pursue, and flew to the place which the report indicated. His zeal having been followed with no manner of success, he recommenced his research in the order prescribed by his instructions, and he finished it without being able to obtain the slightest intelligence, or any thing that had the shadow of probability, respecting the fate of our unfortunate navigator.

The cause of the loss has been reasoned upon in France, in various ways. Some persons, unacquainted with the track which remained for him to pursue from Botany Bay, and which is traced in his last letter, have alleged that his ships must have been caught in the ice, and that La Pérouse and all his companions must have perished by a death of the most horrid form. Others have taken upon them to affirm, that before his arrival at the Isle of France, toward the close of 1788, he had become the victim of the violent hurricane which had proved so fatal to the Venus frigate, for she was never more heard of, and which had entirely dismasted the frigate Resolution.

Though it be impossible to dispute the assertion of these last, at the same time it ought not to be admitted without proof. If it is not the true account, La Pérouse must probably have perished through stress of weather, on the numerous shallows which line the shores of the archipelagos which he had yet to explore, and which General d'Entrecasteaux actually reconnoitred. The manner in which the two frigates always sailed, within reach of voice, must have rendered the same accident common to both; they must have shared the disaster which had so nearly befallen them November 6th, 1786, and been swallowed up before they could reach land.

The only hope which can remain is, that they may have been shipwrecked on the coast of some uninhabited

ed island; in this case there may still exist some individuals of the two crews, on one of the innumerable islands of those archipelegos. Far from the tracks hitherto pursued, they may have escaped all search made for them, and may never again revisit their country, except from the effect of chance which may send a ship that way, as they are probably deprived of all resources for building one.

We cannot, however, but admit the observation, that the savages perform very long voyages in canoes simply; and we may judge, on inspecting the chart, that if our shipwrecked seamen had got ashore, whether upon a desert island, or among savages who spared their life, they might have been able, in the course of nine years, to approach nearer and nearer to a place from which they could convey news of themselves; for it is probable, that they would have attempted every thing to deliver themselves from that state of anxiety and sequestration inexpressibly worse than death. If, then, our hopes be not entirely annihilated, they are at least extremely faint.

A navigator has emitted a declaration of his having proofs of the shipwreck of La Pérouse. The Reader will judge of the confidence due to them, from his deposition, of which I shall give an exact copy, without presuming to make any other observation than that of comparing the author with himself, and of contrasting his affirmation with the relation of Bougainville.

*Extract from the Minutes of the Municipal Court of the City and Community of Morlaix.*

“ George Bowen, commander of the ship Albe-  
 “ marle, bound from Bombay to London, and  
 “ brought into Morlaix, being interrogated whether  
 “ he had any knowledge of La Pérouse, who had  
 “ left France on a voyage round the world, replied  
 “ that



“ that in December, 1791, he himself saw, on his  
 “ return from Port Jackson to Bombay, on the coast  
 “ of New Georgia\*, in the eastern ocean, the wreck  
 “ of M. de La Pérouse’s vessel, floating on the wa-  
 “ ter†, and that in his opinion it was part of a  
 “ vessel of French construction; that he did not go  
 “ on shore, but that the natives of the country came  
 “ on board his ship; that he could not comprehend  
 “ their language, but that by their signs he had  
 “ been enabled to understand that a vessel had come  
 “ ashore in those latitudes; that these natives un-  
 “ derstood the use of several pieces of iron-work,  
 “ of which they were curiously fond; and that he,  
 “ the Examinee, had exchanged several articles of  
 “ iron ware with those Indians, for glass-ware and  
 “ bows: as to the character of those Indians, that  
 “ to him they appeared peaceable‡, and better in-  
 “ formed than the inhabitants of Otaheite, as they  
 “ had a perfect knowledge of works of iron; that  
 “ their canoes were finished in a very superior style:  
 “ that when the natives were on board his ship, he  
 “ had not as yet any knowledge of the wreck in  
 “ question, and that in coasting along the land, he  
 “ perceived it by the help of a great fire kindled on  
 “ shore, toward the middle of the night§ of Decem-  
 ber

\* Seen again by Shortland, a lieutenant in the English navy, in 1788; but discovered in part by Bougainville, the captain of a French ship, in 1768; and still farther by Surville, captain of one of the East India Company’s ships, who gave it the name of *the country of the Arfacides*.—*French Editor*.

† La Pérouse could perish only in 1788. I leave it to those who are acquainted with the effects of the waves of the sea on a shipwrecked vessel, to judge whether this wreck could still exist floating on the water, at the end of December, 1791.—*French Editor*.

‡ Those Indians, characterized as peaceable, attacked the boats which Bougainville had sent ashore for water, upon their coming into Choiseul’s Bay.—*French Editor*.

§ It is undoubtedly surprizing, that the wreck seen by George Bowen, and affirmed to be that of the vessel of La Pérouse, and of French construction, which supposes it to have been considerable in

“ ber 30, 1791 ; that, but for this fire, he would  
 “ probably have run aground on the rocks of Cape  
 “ Deception. The Examinee declares that, in all this  
 “ part of New Georgia, he observed a great number  
 “ of cottages or huts ; that those Indians were of a  
 “ robust form, and of a gentle character, from whence  
 “ he presumes that if M. de La Pérouse, or any of  
 “ his ship’s company, got on shore, they may still  
 “ exist \* ; and that, to his knowledge, of all the ships  
 “ which have navigated in those latitudes, no one, ex-  
 “ cept that of M. de Bougainville, the Alexander, the  
 “ Friendship of London, that of M. de la Pérouse,  
 “ and his own, were ever on that part of the coast :  
 “ that of consequence he presumes this to be the  
 “ wreck of M. de La Pérouse’s vessel †, as the Alex-  
 “ ander went to the bottom in the Strait of Macassa,  
 “ and the Friendship reached her port in England.  
 “ Being interrogated whether he had seen on the  
 “ natives of the country any article of dress which  
 “ indicated a communication with Europe, replied,  
 “ that those Indians were naked ; that the climate  
 “ is very hot, and that, by their signs, he understood  
 “ that they must have seen ships before that time ;  
 “ that he perceived in the possession of those Indians  
 “ nets for fishing, the threads of which were of  
 “ flax, and whose meshes were of European manu-  
 “ facture § ; that he had out of curiosity, taken a  
 “ small

in quantity, and examined closely and with minute attention, is  
 here found to have been perceived only at midnight, by the light  
 of a fire kindled on the land.—*French Editor.*

\* Bougainville, obliged to repel by force, the attack of those  
 Indians, captured two of their canoes, in which he found among  
 other articles, *a human jaw half broiled*, an evident proof of their  
 being men-eaters.—*French Editor.*

† The English captain no longer states it as a matter of cer-  
 tainty, that the wreck which he saw, was part of the ship of La  
 Pérouse ; it is now no more than simply a presumption.—*French*  
*Editor.*

§ Bougainville found in the canoes which fell into his hands, *nets*  
*with*



“small piece of one of them, from which it would  
 “be easy to judge that the materials and the work-  
 “manship were both from Europe.”

Such are, up to this day, the only indications obtained respecting the fate of our navigator.

The public documents, always subsisting, of the track which he pursued, and of the countries which he visited, are the medals struck on occasion of his voyage, and left or distributed by La Pérouse in the course of his progress. There had been delivered to him about a hundred, partly silver, partly copper, and six hundred of different metals. The remainder of his route being known, these medals may one day indicate to us nearly the place where his disaster interrupted it.

The medal relative to the voyage having become an historical monument, and being within the probability of presenting itself to future navigators in the same track, I cannot resist my inclination to describe it, though I did not think myself bound to get it engraved. It has, on the one side, the effigies of the king, with the usual inscription; the reverse is inscribed with these words, surrounded by two olive branches bound with a knot of ribband:

*The frigates of the King of France, La Boussole and  
 l'Astrolabe, commanded by Messrs. de La Pérouse  
 and De Langle, sailed from the port of Brest, in  
 June, 1785.*

So many precautions employed to ensure the success and authenticity of a great expedition, the expense which it occasioned, the vexation and calami-

*with meshes of a very delicate thread and most artfully woven. It is probable that their perfectness led George Bowen into an error.—*  
*French Editor.*

ty with which it is attended, will excite a doubt in the minds of certain prejudiced and systematic gentlemen, whether this trouble and anxiety are compensated by the reciprocal benefit which nations derive from voyages of discovery. Though I myself have refused to acknowledge as a benefit the introduction of our domestic animals, and of some farinaceous vegetables among savage tribes, compared to the mischief resulting to them from the false or superficial notions which our principles suggest to them, and from the sudden communication of our manners and customs; I say, that after having given them detached particulars of knowledge, which they are incapable to extend or to apply, vegetables and animals which they neither preserve nor perpetuate, to abandon them to themselves, is to render fruitless the desire excited in them to know and to enjoy, it is to make them miserable; but that to instruct them gradually in order to civilize them, to form them into orderly colonies, before attempting to make them polished nations, and not to communicate to them new wants and new modes of acting, without giving them, at the same time, the means of providing for the one, and of serving themselves advantageously of the other, is to prepare and ensure to their posterity the happy results of the expansion of the human faculties.

If there could result to us as to them inconveniences from these communications, when the relations are so different, the great advantages which the arts and sciences derive from voyages of discovery, cannot be reasonably disputed. Civilized man feels the necessity of proportioning his acquirements in knowledge, and his enjoyments, to the capacity of his understanding, and to the extent of his desires. The navigator, as he advances, discovers new productions beneficial to humanity; he ascertains the different points of the globe, and gives security to his



his own route and to that of others; he teaches us to form a judgment of our fellow creatures from a greater number of relations, and every step of his progress is a new approximation toward the knowledge of man and of nature. It is great, it is noble, thus to incur expense and to encounter danger for the benefit of society at large, and for the increase of true riches.

If some philosophers have condemned voyages in general, because expeditions undertaken from ambitious and interested views, have exhibited acts of barbarity following in their train, it is undoubtedly because they confounded them with voyages merely of discovery, which have for their object the communication of blessings to savage nations, and the enlargement of the field of science.

These benefits, it will perhaps be alleged, are the price of their blood, because these savage tribes are to be restrained only by mustering a force, which, becoming fatal to the navigators themselves, occasions a double crime in the eyes of philosophy and of nature.

Let us consult the navigators who have made themselves known by their moderation; their relations demonstrate, that by employing the means which prudence dictates, it is easy to restrain savages by the display of force simply: soon conceiving an attachment, from benefits received, to navigators whom they respect, they are susceptible of gratitude, and consequently of every other moral feeling.

Justice must be done to the motive which has misled those philosophers; that respectable motive is humanity. We ought, then, henceforth to be agreed, as to the conduct of our navigators, in observing their extreme tenderness where the life of savages is concerned, who destroy one another on the slightest pretext; in contemplating the ferocity  
of

of these last, softened down by civilization, and the immense quantity of blood spared by the abolition of human sacrifices, so shocking to humanity, and yet so generally practised among savage nations.



D E C R E E  
OF THE  
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

OF FEBRUARY 9TH, 1791.

**T**HE National Assembly, having heard the report of the united committees of agriculture, commerce, and the marine, decrees,

That the King be requested to issue orders to all ambassadors, residents, consuls, national agents, employed at the courts of the several maritime powers, to use their influence with the respective sovereigns at whose courts they reside, in the name of humanity, and of the arts and sciences, to charge all navigators and agents whatever, who act under their instructions, in whatever place of the globe they may be, but especially in the southern parts of the South Sea, to make every enquiry in their power respecting the two French frigates *Bouffole* and *l'Astrolabe*, commanded by M. de la Pérouse, and also respecting their crews, in the view of obtaining such information as may ascertain their existence or their shipwreck; to the end that, in case M. de la Pérouse and his fellow navigators shall be found or heard of, no matter in what place, all possible assistance may be given them, and means procured for assisting them to return to their country, as well as for enabling them to recover and carry off whatever property they may possess: the National Assembly becoming bound to indemnify, and even to reward, according to the importance of the service, the person or persons who shall lend assistance to these navigators, obtain information concerning them, or so much as procure for France the restitution of such papers or other effects

of whatever kind, which belonged, or might have belonged to their expedition.

Decrees, farther, that the King be requested to issue orders for the equipment of one or more ships, on board of which shall embark men of science, naturalists and draughtsmen, and to instruct the commanders employed in the expedition, to fulfil the twofold mission of searching after M. de la Pérouse, agreeably to the documents, rules and orders which shall be given them, and at the same time to pursue researches relative to science and commerce, taking every measure to render the expedition, independently of the enquiry after M. de la Pérouse, or even in the event of recovering him, or of procuring intelligence concerning him, useful and advantageous to navigation, geography, to commerce, to the arts and sciences.

Compared with the original, by us the President and Secretaries of the National Assembly. At Paris, this 24th of February, 1791.

(Signed)

DUPORT, President ;

LIORÉ

BOUSSION

} Secretaries

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DECREE OF  
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,  
OF APRIL 22d, 1791.

THE National Assembly decrees, that the relations and charts sent by M. de la Pérouse, of part of his voyage, up to his arrival in Botany Bay, be printed and engraved at the expence of the nation, and that this expence be defrayed out of the fund of two millions ordered by article xiv of the decree of August 3d, 1790 ;

Decrees,

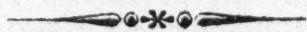


Decrees, that as soon as the edition shall be completed, and as many copies set apart as the King may be pleased to dispose of, the rest shall be sent to Madame de la Pérouse, together with a copy of the present decree, in testimony of the public satisfaction with M. de la Pérouse's devotedness to the general welfare, and to the improvement of human knowledge and useful discovery ;

Decrees, that M. de la Pérouse shall remain on the list of naval officers till the return of the ships dispatched in search of him, and that his pay be remitted to his wife, conformably to the disposal which he had made of it previous to his departure.

Compared with the original, by us the President and Secretaries of the National Assembly. At Paris, this 25th of April, 1791.

|          |                  |               |
|----------|------------------|---------------|
| (Signed) | REUBELL,         | President ;   |
|          | GOUPIL-PREFELN   | } Secretaries |
|          | MOUGIN-ROQUEFORT |               |
|          | ROGER            |               |



### MEMORIAL FROM THE KING,

*To serve as particular Instructions to the Sieur de la Pérouse, Captain in the Navy, commanding the Frigates la Bouffole and l'Astrolabe.—26th June, 1785.*

HIS Majesty having given directions to equip in the harbour of Brest the frigates la Bouffole, commanded by the Sieur de la Pérouse, and l'Astrolabe by the Sieur de Langle, captains in his navy, to be employed on a voyage of discovery ; hereby notifies to the Sieur de la Pérouse, whom he has appointed commander in chief of these two vessels, the particular services which he will have to execute in the course of the important expedition committed to his care.

The different objects which his Majesty had in view, when he issued orders respecting this voyage, render it necessary to divide the present instructions into several heads, in order to explain with greater clearness to the *Sieur de la Pérouse*, his Majesty's particular intentions as to each of the objects which are to engage his attention.

The first part will contain his itinerary, or the sketch of his voyage, according to the order of the discoveries to be made, or carried to perfection ; and to this will be annexed a collection of geographical and historic notes, to serve him as a guide in the various researches which he is to pursue.

The second part will treat of objects relative to politics and to commerce.

The third will explain operations relative to astronomy, to geography, to navigation, to physics, and to the different branches of natural history, and will regulate the several functions of the astronomers, the naturalists, the historians, the scientific characters, and the artists employed in the expedition.

The fourth part will prescribe to the *Sieur de la Pérouse*, the conduct which it may be proper for him to observe with respect to the savage nations, and the natives of different countries, which he may discover or have occasion to visit.

Finally, the fifth will indicate to him the precautions to be observed for the preservation of the health of his crews \*.

\* The particulars detailed, in the original work, under each of these heads, are numerous, and to the generality of readers would probably appear tedious and uninteresting. Instead, therefore, of giving an exact translation, the editor thinks himself warranted to present a concise and general view of *de la Pérouse's* instructions, that the reader may not be detained too long in the threshold.



## PART FIRST.

*Sketch of the Voyage.*

ON leaving Brest de la Pérouse is directed to steer for Madeira, and there take in wine, and thence for St. Jago, to complete his wood and water, and lay in refreshments: he is to cross the line in the 29th or 30th degree of west longitude from the meridian of Paris, and try to hit Pennedo de San-Pedro, and fix its position; to proceed to Trinidad to wood and water, and on leaving it to run into the latitude of Isle Grand de la Roche, but to desist from looking for this island, if he does not fall in with it before reaching  $50^{\circ}$  west longitude: He is to run into the latitude of Terre de la Roche, Cook's Isle of Georgia, and confine his visit to its southern coast, hitherto unexplored. He is then to look out for Sandwich Land in about  $57^{\circ}$  south, and having ascertained its extent, to steer for Staten Land, try to double Cape Horn, and anchor in Christmas Sound, on the south-west coast of Terra del Fuego, and take in wood and water. In the event of being unable to get to the west by the winds and currents that oppose that passage, he is to make for the coast of Brasil, touching if necessary at Falkland's Islands, which present a variety of accommodations to the mariner. He is afterwards to pass Strait le Mair, or double Staten Land by the east, in order to reach Port Christmas Sound, which, at all events, was to be the first place of rendezvous for the ships in case of separation.

On leaving Christmas Sound, he is to shape his course so as to cut the meridian of  $85^{\circ}$  west in the latitude of  $57^{\circ}$  south, and pursue this parallel up to  $95^{\circ}$  of longitude, in quest of Drake's Port and Land. He is then to proceed to cut the meridian of  $105^{\circ}$  in the parallel of  $38^{\circ}$ , and continue in it to  $115^{\circ}$

longitude, looking out for land said to be discovered by the Spaniards in 1714. He is then to get into the latitude of  $27^{\circ} 5'$  on the meridian of  $108^{\circ}$  west, looking out for Easter Island, where he is to anchor, and execute a particular article of his instructions. He is thence to return to the latitude of  $32^{\circ}$  on the meridian of  $120^{\circ}$  west, and keep on that parallel to  $135^{\circ}$  of longitude, in search of land seen by the Spaniards in 1773. Here the frigates are to separate. The first is to proceed to the intermediate parallel between  $16^{\circ}$  and  $17^{\circ}$ , and persevere in it from  $135^{\circ}$  to  $150^{\circ}$  to the west of Paris, and then steer for Otaheite, it being presumable that in this track new inhabited islands may be discovered. The second frigate, from the same point of departure, is to run into  $25^{\circ} 12'$  south latitude, and endeavour to keep in this parallel, beginning at the meridian of  $131^{\circ}$  or  $132^{\circ}$ , and look out for Pitcairn's Island, discovered by Carteret in 1767, in the view of ascertaining its longitude, because the exact knowledge of its position would serve to determine that of the other islands or lands afterwards discovered by Carteret. On leaving Pitcairn's Island, the second frigate is to steer westward and then to the north-west, looking out in succession for the islands of the Incarnation, of St. John Baptist, of St. Elmo, of the Four Crowns, of St. Michael, and of the Conversion of St. Paul, discovered by Quiros in 1606, and supposed to be situated to the south-east of Otaheite. The second frigate will thus, in a north-east course, arrive at the meridian of  $150^{\circ}$  west, and at  $19^{\circ}$  south latitude, and then steer for Otaheite, where it is presumed both vessels may arrive about the end of April; and this to be their second place of rendezvous.

De la Pérouse's stay at Otaheite is limited to one month; he is then to visit, on his way, the islands of Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, and the other Society Islands, to procure supplemental provisions,

to



to furnish the inhabitants with useful European articles, to sow grain, to plant vegetables, trees, &c. which might hereafter afford supplies to the navigators of those remote seas. He is to steer to the north-west, from the Society Islands, to get into the latitude of the island of St. Bernard of Quiros, about  $11^{\circ}$  south, but not to pursue his search after it beyond the meridians of  $158^{\circ}$  to  $162^{\circ}$  west longitude: he is then to get into the parallel of  $5^{\circ}$  south, and to the meridian of  $166^{\circ}$  to  $167^{\circ}$ , and then steer to the south-west, and, in that direction, cross the sea which washes the northern shores of the archipelago of the Friendly Islands, where he will probably find others inhabited which have not yet been visited by any European. He is to look for the island of Bella Nacion of Quiros between the parallel of  $11^{\circ}$  and that of  $11^{\circ} 30'$ , from the meridian of  $169^{\circ}$  to  $171^{\circ}$  longitude; and for the Navigators' Islands of Bougainville one after another, and thence proceed to the Friendly Isles for refreshments. He is then to get into the latitude of the Isle of Pines, situated on the south-east point of New Caledonia, and ascertain whether that land be a single island, or composed of several. If he can make Queen Charlotte's Islands, he is to try to reconnoitre the island Santa-Cruz of Mendana, and determine its extent southward. Should contrary winds prevents this, he is to make for Deliverance Islands, and ascertain whether the Terre des Arfacides, discovered by Surville in 1769, is not composed of a cluster of islands, which he will endeavour to particularize. From Cape Deliverance he is to steer for Endeavour Strait, and in passing it, try to ascertain whether the land of Louisiade be contiguous to that of New Guinea, and examine the hitherto unexplored coast from Cape Deliverance to the island of St. Bartholomew. He is desired to survey the gulf of Carpentaria, paying close attention, at the same time, to the state of the north-west monsoon, so as to make

sure of his passage round the south-west point of the isle of Timor before the twentieth of November. In case he should not have been able to procure refreshments, where he may have touched since he left the Friendly Isles, he is to stop at Prince's Island, at the entrance of the straits of Sunda. On leaving it, and quitting the channel to the north of New Holland, he will shape his course so as to examine the western coast of that land, and begin his survey as near the equator as the wind will permit. He is then to take a more particular inspection of its southern coast, which will bring him to the extremity of Van-Dieman's Land at Adventure Bay, or Fredric-Henry Bay; from whence he will make for Cook's Straits, and anchor in Queen-Charlotte's Sound situated in that strait, which separates the two islands whereof New Zealand is formed. This port is to be the third place of rendezvous to the ships in case of separation. Here he can refit, and provide himself with refreshments, wood, and water. It is presumed that he may be in a condition to sail from this port early in March, 1787.

On leaving Cook's Straits, he is to get into the parallel of  $41^{\circ}$  to  $42^{\circ}$ , and keep in it till he reach the meridian of  $130^{\circ}$  west. He is thence to stand to the north, in order to get to windward, and into the latitude of the Marquesas, where he is to stop, and take in necessaries in the port Madre de Dios on the west coast of Isle Santa Christiana, called by Cook Resolution Bay. This is to be the fourth rendezvous in case of parting company. About two months are allowed for this passage.

On quitting the Marquesas, if the wind permits, he may visit some of the islands to the east of Sandwich Isles, he is then to proceed to these last and lay in provisions, but to make no stay. Thence he is to make the best of his way toward the north-west coast of America, standing to the north as far as  $30^{\circ}$ , to  
get



get out of the trade winds, and gain that coast in the latitude  $36^{\circ} 20'$ , at Punta de Pinos, south of Port Monterey. He is supposed to reach this from the 10th to the 15th of July. In prosecuting his researches he is to avoid the parts which have been surveyed by Cook, but carefully to examine whether there may not be some river, gulf, or inland lake, forming a communication with Hudson's Bay. He is to pursue his surveys up to Behring's Bay and Mount St. Elias, visiting ports Bucarelli and de los Remedios, discovered by the Spaniards in 1775. Hence he is to direct his course toward the Shumagin Islands, near the peninsula of Alaska, and then visit the archipelago of the Aleutian Islands, and after them the two clusters of islands to the westward, whose number and true position are unknown, and which all together form, with the coasts of Asia and America, the grand northern basin or gulf. Having completed this survey, he is to stop at port Awatscha, or St. Peter and St. Paul, on the south-eastern extremity of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, which he may reach toward the 15th to the 20th of September; and this port will be the fifth rendezvous in case of separation. Here he will provide himself with necessities, and procure information requisite toward making sure of provisions on his return thither in 1788; and order matters so as to be ready to put to sea by the 10th of October.

He is to coast along and examine all the Kurile Islands, the north-east coast, the east, and the south of Japan; and, according to the state of the weather, extend his researches to the islands on the east and on the south of the Japanese, and to the Lekeyo Islands, as far as Formosa. This survey finished, he is to put into Macao and Canton, or Manilla, according to circumstances. This port will be the sixth rendezvous in case of separation. It is presumed he may reach it by the end of 1787.

Here

Here he is to refit and victual his ships, and wait in port the return of the south-west monsoon, which usually sets in about the beginning of March, with permission, however, to remain till the first of April, if the crews have need of longer rest, and if he shall judge that a navigation northward would be hazardous prior to that period. From this port he is to shape his course so as to pass through the strait which separates Formosa from the coast of China. He is carefully to examine the western coast of Corea, and the gulf of Hoan-hay, taking care not to stand in too far, but always to keep it in his power easily to weather the south coast of Corea with a south-west or south wind. He is then to examine the eastern coast of this peninsula, that of Tartary, where a pearl fishery is established, and that of Japan opposite to it. He is to pass the strait of Tseffoy, and visit the lands known by the name of Yesso, and that which the Dutch call Staten Land, and the Russians the Isle of Nadezda, of which we have no certain information. He will now finish his survey of the Kurile Islands, and force his way through the strait which separates some of them, as near as possible to the southern point of Kamtschatka; and come to an anchor in the port of Awatscha, the seventh rendezvous in case of separation.

Having there refitted and victualled, he is to put to sea early in August, and run into the latitude of  $37^{\circ} 30'$  north, on the meridian of  $180^{\circ}$ . Hence he is to steer westward, looking out for land said to be discovered by the Spaniards in 1610, and to prosecute this research to the meridian of  $165^{\circ}$  east: he is then to steer south-west, and south-south-west, looking out for the islands scattered over those seas to the north-east of the Marianne Islands. He may put into Tinian, but regulate his stay there, and his course afterward, by the north-easterly monsoon, which does not set in, to the north of the line, till October, so that, on leaving



leaving Tinean, he may have it in his power to survey the New Carolinas, to the south-west of Guaham, one of the Mariannes, and to the east of Mindanao, one of the Philippines. This survey to be pursued as far as St. Andrew's Islands. He is after that to stop a fortnight at Mindanao to take in provisions and refreshments; then to steer for the Moluccas, and anchor at Ternate to take in farther supplies. As the monsoon will not permit him to pass the Straits of Sunda, he must avail himself of the variable winds near the equator, to pass between Ceram and Bourro, or between Bourro and Bouton, and endeavour to force a passage between some of the islands to the east or west of Timor. Having then probably run beyond the parallel of  $10^{\circ}$  south, he will find himself out of the north-west monsoon, and be able with ease, with the wind from the east and south-east, to make the Isle of France, which will be the eighth rendezvous for the ships in case of separation.

He is to remain there no longer than is absolutely necessary to prepare for his return to Europe. On leaving it, he is to run into the mean parallel between  $54^{\circ}$  and  $55^{\circ}$  south, and look out for Cape Circumcision, discovered in 1739 by Lozier Bouvet. Crossing this latitude at  $15^{\circ}$  east, he will continue in the same parallel to the meridian of Paris, or of no longitude, and then give up the search. Should he then judge that the ships are not sufficiently provided with necessaries, he is to put into the Cape of Good Hope to supply them. This to be the ninth rendezvous in case of separation.

He is to endeavour, on his return to Europe, to make Gough's Island, and those of Alvarez, of Tristan d'Acunha, of Saxenberg, and Dos Picos, and if he find them, ascertain their true position. He will then steer for Brest, where he will probably arrive in July or August 1789.

Though this is the track sketched for M. de la Pérouse,

rouse, in his Majesty's instructions, he is vested nevertheless with a discretionary power of deviating from it according to circumstances, provided that the main object of the expedition be kept continually in view.

## PART SECOND.

*Objects relative to Politics and Commerce.*

I. The stay which the Sieur de la Pérouse is to make at Madeira, and at St. Jago, will be too short to admit of his obtaining exact information respecting the state of those Portugueze colonies; he will, however, procure intelligence respecting the force which Portugal keeps up in them, respecting the trade which the English and other nations carry on there, and respecting the leading objects which it may be interesting to know.

II. He will ascertain whether the English have entirely evacuated Trinidad, whether Portugal has formed an establishment in it, and of what it consists.

III. Should he hit the Isle Grande de la Roche, he will satisfy himself whether it contains any safe and commodious harbour, capable of supplying wood and water; what accommodation it presents for the formation of a settlement, in case the southern whale-fishery should attract French adventurers that way; whether there is any post which could be easily fortified, and defended by a small garrison, at a distance so great from France.

IV. He will examine Georgia in the same view. But this island, being in a higher latitude, presents less attraction, and the ice which obstructs the navigation during part of the year, would probably discourage the fishermen from making this a place of rendezvous or retreat.

V. The islands of the great equatorial Ocean present few subjects of observation relative to politics and commerce, from their immense distance, except perhaps



perhaps to the crown of Spain. M. de la Pérouse is, however, directed to attend to the climate, and the productions of the different isles of that ocean which he may visit, to the manners and customs of the natives, their religion, form of government, mode of making war, arms, vessels, distinctive character of each tribe, what they have in common with other savage, and with civilized, nations; and the particular distinction of each. In such of those islands as have been visited by Europeans, he will endeavour to find out whether the natives could distinguish the different nations of their visitors, and what opinion they may have formed of each of them in particular. He will enquire what use they have made of the various articles of merchandize, metals, tools, stuffs, &c. introduced into their country. He will inform himself whether the beasts and birds left by Captain Cook in some of them have multiplied; what European seeds and pot-herbs have thriven best; what mode of culture is employed by the islanders; and what use they make of the produce. He will examine the facts related by former navigators, and supply their omissions.

At Easter Island he will satisfy himself whether the human species is there on the decrease, which Captain Cook's observation and belief render credible.

On touching at Huaheine, he will try to get acquainted with Omai, whom the English navigator settled there in the course of his third voyage, and learn what treatment he received from his fellow-islanders after the English were gone, and what use he himself had made of the knowledge he must have acquired in Europe, toward the improvement of his own country.

VI. In his survey of the islands of the great equatorial Ocean, and the coasts of the continents, should he meet at sea any vessels belonging to a foreign power, he will conduct himself conformably to the modes

modes of behaviour established among polished and friendly nations; and on meeting any such in a port pertaining to a nation considered as savage, he will concert measures with the commander of the foreign vessel, effectually to prevent all altercation between the crews which may happen to be on shore together, and to secure mutual assistance in case either should be attacked by the islanders.

VII. In his visit to New Caledonia, Queen-Charlotte's Islands, the land of the Arfacides, and Louisiade, he will carefully examine the natural productions of those countries, which being situated in the torrid zone, and in the same latitude with Peru, may open a new field of commercial speculation, and, without trusting to the exaggerated accounts given by the ancient Spanish navigators of the fertility and riches of some of the islands which they discovered in this part of the world, he will observe only that approximations founded on geographical combination, and on information derived from modern voyages, furnish room to think that the land discovered by Bougainville in 1768, and by Surville in 1769, may be the islands discovered by Mendana in 1567, and since known by the name of Solomon's Islands, from their real or supposed fruitfulness.

He will examine, with equal attention, the north and west coasts of New Holland, those parts particularly which, being within the torrid zone, may partake of the productions peculiar to countries situated in the same latitudes.

VIII. He will have to repeat the same enquiries at the islands of New Zealand, of which the relations of English navigators have given an ample detail. But, during his stay in Queen-Charlotte's channel, he will make it his business to find out whether England has formed or projected any settlement there, and inform himself on the spot respecting the state, strength, and object, of such establishment.

IX. If



ix. If in reconnoitring the north-west coast of America, he shall fall in with any forts or factories belonging to his Catholic Majesty, he shall carefully avoid giving offence to the officers commanding such settlements, and improve the ties of blood and amity which unite the two sovereigns, as the means of procuring such assistance and refreshments as the country may afford. He will endeavour to obtain information respecting the state, strength, and object, of those Spanish settlements. He will enquire at what latitude peltry becomes procurable; what quantity the native Americans are able to furnish; what articles are best adapted to the fur trade; what conveniency presents for forming an establishment on that coast, supposing this branch of commerce were to engage the attention of the French merchant, in the prospect of importing peltry into China, where it would find a certain market. He will likewise procure information respecting the species of skins to be purchased, and whether that of the otter, which fetches the highest price in Asia, is the most common in America. He will bring to France samples of all the different furs he is able to procure: and as, in the prosecution of his voyage, he is to stop some time in China, perhaps touch at Japan, he will inform himself what species of skin promises to have the easiest, safest, and most lucrative sale in those two empires, and what benefit France may derive from this new branch of commerce. Finally, he will endeavour, during his stay on the coast of America, to discover whether the Hudson's Bay settlements, the forts or factories of the interior, or any province of the United States, have opened through the intervention of wandering savages, any intercourse of commerce or barter with the tribes on the west coast.

x. It is probable that in visiting the Aleutian Islands, and the other clusters to the south of the great basin of the north, he may fall in with some Russian

Russian settlements. He will try to find out their constitution, their force, their object; what is the navigation of the Russians in those seas, what ships, what men they employ in it; how far their commerce extends; whether any of those isles acknowledge the sovereignty of Russia, or are all independent; finally, whether the Russians have not been advancing nearer and nearer to the continent of America. He will avail himself of his stay at Awatscha to extend his information on these particulars, and to procure, at the same time, all possible light respecting the Kurile Isles, the land of Jessô, and the empire of Japan.

xI. He will examine the Kurile isles and the land of Jessô with all possible circumspection, not only in the view of objects relative to navigation in seas unknown to Europeans, and understood to be tempestuous, but also in consideration of the intercourse which may take place with the inhabitants of those countries, whose character and manners must have an affinity to those of the Japanese, who may have subjugated part of them, and maintain a communication with the rest. As Russia extends her sovereignty over only some of the Kuriles, adjacent to Kamtschatka, he will examine whether, among the southern and independent islands, some one may not be found on which, in case of a peltry trade being opened for France, it might be possible to form a settlement or factory, which could be secured against every insult on the part of the islanders.

xII. He will reconnoitre the east and north-east coast of Japan, and anchor in some of its ports, to obtain certain information whether its government actually opposes invincible obstacles to all establishment, to every operation of commerce or barter on the part of the Europeans; and whether, by the attraction of peltry, an object at once of utility and luxury to the Japanese, it might not be possible to prevail

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on the ports to the east and north-east, to admit vessels loaded with this commodity, and to give in exchange the teas, the silks, and the other productions of their soil, and the articles of their manufacture.

xiii. On his arrival at Macao, he shall take the measures necessary to facilitate his wintering at Canton. For this purpose he will address himself to the *Sieur Vieillard*, his Majesty's consul in China, and engage him to take the proper steps with the Chinese government to obtain permission. He will avail himself of his stay there, to acquire accurate information respecting the actual state of commerce between European nations and Canton, under every relation which it is of importance to know. He will procure intelligence of every particular that may assist his farther navigation in the seas north of China, on the coasts of Corea and east Tartary, and all the other lands to be visited in those parts. He will secure, if possible, a Chinese and Japanese interpreter, and a Russian one for his second call at *Awatscha*; making an agreement with them for the time they are to be in the service of the ship, and on his return, will put them ashore at Mindanao or on the Moluccas.

xiv. He must be apprized, that Japanese pirates sometimes swarm in the sea surrounded by Japan, Corea, and Tartary. The feebleness of their vessels renders no other precaution necessary, except being on his guard against surprize by night: but it might be of advantage to hail one of them, and engage him, by presents and promises, to pilot his Majesty's ships on the excursion to *Jesso*, part of which is supposed to be under the dominion of Japan; in passing the straits of *Tessoy*, with which the Japanese must be acquainted; and in reconnoitring such of the Kurile Isles as they are in the habit of frequenting. Such a pilot might likewise be useful in visiting some port on the west coast of Japan, in case circumstances should not have permitted him to land on any point

of the east or north-east coast. But whatever use may be made of such pilot, he is not to be trusted implicitly. M. de la Pérouse will likewise, if possible, engage some fishermen of the Kuriles to pilot him through the islands adjoining to Kamtschatka. He will thus endeavour, in standing northward, to complete his survey of the islands which he could not reconnoitre on his way from Awatscha to Macao, and to supply on the western coast of Japan, what he was not able to accomplish on the east and north-east. His survey of the coasts of Corea and Chinese Tartary must be taken with great circumspection; the Chinese government being extremely punctilious, he ought not to display his colours on that coast, nor permit any operation which might give offence, lest it should be resented on French ships trading to Canton.

xv. In examining the Carolina Islands, known only by name to most of the nations of Europe, he will take care to inform himself whether the Spaniards have formed any settlement there. He will endeavour to acquire the knowledge of the productions of those islands, and of all those which he may discover to the north-east, and to the west-south-west of the Mariannes.

xvi. In stopping at Tinian he will procure information respecting the settlements, the strength, and the commerce of the Spaniards in that archipelago and its vicinity. He will make the same inquiries at Mindanao, to learn, as far as possible, the political, military, and commercial state of that nation in the Philippine Islands.

xvii. During his stay at the Moluccas he will carefully inform himself respecting the situation and the commerce of the Dutch in those islands, and particularly in the view of knowing what advantages must result to the commerce of England, from the liberty which that power has obtained by her late treaty of peace



peace with Holland to navigate and traffic through the whole extent of the ~~Adriatic~~ <sup>Asiatic</sup> seas; and he will endeavour to find out what use England has made of that liberty, and whether she has yet been able, through this channel, to open any new vein of commerce with that part of the world.

xviii. Should he put in to the Cape of Good Hope, he will procure accurate information respecting the actual state of this colony; of the force which Holland, or the Dutch East India Company, keeps up there since the peace, and of the state of the old and new fortifications which defend the town and anchorage.

xix. In all the islands, and in all the ports of continents occupied or frequented by Europeans, where he may touch, he will prudently, as far as circumstances permit, make every enquiry which may enable him to discover, in detail, the nature and extent of the commerce of each nation, the sea and land force which each keeps up, the relations of interest or friendship which subsist between them and the chiefs or natives of the countries where they have settlements, and, in general, every thing that concerns politics and commerce.

## PART THIRD.

*Operations Relative to Astronomy, Geography, Navigation, Physics, and the different Branches of Natural History.*

1. Two astronomers having been appointed to act under the orders of the Sieur de la Pérouse, on the expedition entrusted to his charge, and the two frigates being furnished with all the instruments of astronomy and navigation which need to be used by sea or land, he will take care that, during the course of the voyage, neither of them neglect any opportunity

nity of making such astronomical observations as may to him appear useful.

The object of greatest importance toward the safety of navigation, is to ascertain, with precision, the latitude and longitude of the places where he may land, or in sight of which he may pass. He will accordingly direct the astronomer employed on board each frigate to observe, with extreme accuracy, the movement of the marine time-keepers, and to avail himself of every favourable circumstance for ascertaining on shore how far the regularity of their motion has been kept up during the run, and to confirm, by comparison, the change which may have taken place in their daily motion, for the purpose of keeping an account of that change, in order to determine with more precision the longitude of the islands, capes, or other remarkable points which he may have reconnoitred in the interval of the two observations.

As often as the state of the sky will permit, he must have lunar observations made to ascertain the longitude of the vessel, and to compare it with that which the time-keepers indicate at the same instant: he will take care to repeat observations of every kind, that the mean result of different operations may procure a more precise determination. On passing within sight of any land where he does not mean to stop, he will take care to keep as nearly as possible on the parallel of that point, at the instant of observing the meridian altitude of the sun or any other star, from which to calculate the latitude of the ship; and continue in the same meridian at the moment of making observations for determining her longitude, in order to avoid all error of position or calculation of distance, which might injure the exactness of determination. He will, every day that the weather permits, observe the declination and inclination of the magnetic needle.

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On arriving in any port he will choose a convenient spot on which to pitch his tents, and raise his portable observatory, and place a guard over it.

Beside observations relative to the determination of longitude and latitude, for which every known and practicable method is to be employed, and those for ascertaining the variation of the compass, he will not fail to observe every celestial phenomenon, which may be perceived; and, on every occasion, procure for the astronomers all possible assistance toward ensuring the success of their operations. His Majesty is persuaded, that the naval officers will manifest a proper zeal to make themselves, in concert with the astronomers, every observation tending to improve navigation; and that they, in their turn, will be eager to impart to the officers the fruit of their studies, and the theoretic knowledge which may contribute toward the perfection of the nautical art.

On board each of the frigates there must be kept a double journal, on which shall be entered every day, both at sea and on shore, the astronomical observations, those relating to the employment of time-pieces, and all others. These observations shall be entered rough, that is simply indicating the quantity of degrees, minutes, &c. given by the instrument at the moment of observation, without any calculation, only pointing out the error of the instrument employed, if it has been ascertained by the usual verifications. Each of the astronomers to keep possession of one of the journals, and the respective commanders the other. The astronomer shall besides keep a second journal, containing, day by day, all the observations made, and add, for each operation, all the calculations leading to the ultimate result. At the end of the voyage the *Sieur de la Pérouse* shall take possession of the two journals kept by the astronomers, after their truth has been certified by their signatures.

II. When he shall stop at places which it may be of importance to know in a military view, he will have the country surveyed by the chief engineer, who must give him a circumstantial report of all his remarks, and of the plans he may have prepared. He will have exact charts drawn of all the coasts and islands he may visit; and if they are already known, he will ascertain the exactness of preceding navigators. For this purpose, in navigating along coasts or in sight of islands, he must have them very exactly surveyed with the quadrant or azimuth compass, observing that the surveys, the most to be depended on for constructing charts, are those by which one cape, or any other remarkable object, can be laid down by another.

He will employ the officers of the frigates, and the geographic engineer, carefully to lay down plans of coasts, bays, ports, and anchoring grounds, which he may have an opportunity of inspecting, and affix to each plan instructions which shall exhibit every thing relating to the appearance and bearing of coasts, the getting in or out of harbours, the mode of anchorage and cross-mooring, and the best situation for watering; the soundings, the quality of the bottom, the dangers, rocks and shoals; the prevailing winds, breezes, monsoons, the length of their duration, and the period of their change; in a word, every nautical detail that may be useful to a mariner. All plans of countries, coasts, and harbours, must have duplicates, one copy to rest with each of the captains; and, at the end of the voyage, the *Sieur de la Pérouse* shall take possession of the whole, with the instructions relative to them. His Majesty leaves to him the fixing of the era when the decked boats are to be put together, which are on board each frigate in pieces: his stop at Otaheite may be the proper season. These boats may be employed to advantage in attending the frigates, whether on exploring the archipelagoes situated



ted in the great equatorial Ocean, or surveying in detail the parts of the coast, and in sounding bays, harbours, passages, and, in a word, on every service that can be performed by a vessel of small draught of water, and capable of carrying several days provision for its crew.

III. The naturalists appointed to make observations analogous to their several pursuits, are to be employed each in his peculiar department. M. de la Pérouse will prescribe the objects of research, and distribute the proper instruments and apparatus, taking care that no one have a complicated task, but that the zeal and intelligence of every individual may produce their complete effect toward the general success of the expedition. He will communicate to them the memorial transmitted by the Academy of Sciences, pointing out the particular observations recommended to their attention.

He will in like manner communicate to the surgeons of the ships the memorial of the medical Society, that they may pursue their professional researches to advantage. Both in the progress of sailing, and in port, he will have a journal kept on board both vessels of daily observations made on the state of the weather, the winds, the currents, the variations of the atmosphere, and every thing relating to meteorology. When in port he will observe the genius, character, manners, customs, temperament, language, government, and number of the inhabitants. He will examine the nature of the soil, and the productions of the different countries, and every thing relative to the natural history of the globe. He will collect natural curiosities both of the land and of the water; and have them classed, with a descriptive catalogue of each species, mentioning the places where they were found, the uses to which the natives apply them, and, if they be plants, the virtues ascribed to them. He will likewise collect and class the clothing,

ing, arms, ornaments, furniture, tools, musical instruments, and all other effects used by the different nations he may visit, and every article must be labelled and numbered correspondently to the catalogue.

He will direct the draughtsmen to take drawings of all the remarkable land views and situations, portraits of the natives, their peculiar dress, ceremonies, pastimes, edifices, boats, all the land and sea productions of the three kingdoms, if drawings of these objects appear to him likely to facilitate the comprehension of descriptions given by the scientific gentlemen on board. All drawings made on the voyage, all boxes containing natural curiosities, with descriptions of them, and the collections of astronomical observations shall, at the end of the voyage, be put into the hands of the Sieur de la Perouse; and no one of the literati or artists shall reserve to himself, or for any other, any article of natural history, or other object, which M. de la Pérouse shall deem worthy of a place in the collection designed for his Majesty.

iv. Before entering the port of Brest, at the end of the voyage, or before his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, should he stop there, he shall take possession of all journals kept by the naval officers, astronomers, literati, artists, pilots, and all other persons; enjoining them, on their word of honour, to observe a profound silence respecting the object of the expedition, and the discoveries made, with an assurance that their journals and papers shall be restored.

#### PART FOURTH.

*Conduct to be observed toward the Natives of the different Countries.*

The relations of former navigators have disclosed the characters and manners of part of the different nations with whom he may come into contact, both in the islands of the great southern Ocean, and on the north-



north-west coast of America. He is thereby prepared to imitate the good conduct of some of his predecessors, and to shun the faults of others.

On his arrival in any port, he will endeavour to ingratiate himself with the chiefs, by expressing benevolence, and making presents; he will secure the resources which the place furnishes for supplying the wants of his ships' companies, and employ all honourable means of forming intimacy with the natives. He will find out on what European commodities they set most value, and make up a proper assortment which may encourage them to barter. He will see the necessity of using every prudent precaution to maintain his superiority against a multitude, without employing force; and, however well received by savages, he must ever shew himself in a state of defence, lest security on his part might tempt them to come on him by surprize. In no case shall he send a boat on shore but what is provided with arms and ammunition, and commanded by an officer, with orders never to lose sight of the boat under his charge, and always to leave some men to guard her. He must not permit any officer, seaman, or other to sleep on shore, except on duty; and persons obliged by actual service to pass the night on land, shall retire betimes to the tents erected to serve as observatories and magazines, with a guard placed over them under the command of an officer, to maintain good order among the seamen and soldiers, and to prevent, by active and unremitting vigilance, every attack or enterprize of the savages. He will take care to have the ships moored within reach to protect the settlement, and give instructions to the officer on guard respecting the signals to be made in case of alarm.

These dispositions being made, he will prepare for providing subsistence, and other necessaries for the ships' companies; and, having made a selection from the commodities with which the frigates are furnished, he

he will form a magazine on shore under protection of a guard : but as all the islanders of the South Sea have an irresistible propensity to steal, he will take care, that they may not be tempted by the sight of too many objects in one place, to have no more goods brought ashore every day but what are sufficient for the daily demand. He will regulate the value of those exchanges, and never allow the rate once fixed to be exceeded, lest by giving, at first, too high a price for the articles to be procured, the natives should afterwards refuse to deal on lower terms. He will open but one magazine for both frigates ; and on purpose to maintain good order and prevent abuse, he will specially charge an officer to treat with the savages, and to select the petty officers or others, who shall under his own inspection perform the duty of the magazine. No officer, or other person on board, shall be permitted, under any pretence, to carry on any species of barter, without express permission from the *Sieur de la Pérouse*, and after the rate of exchange is fixed. If any of the crew shall be found stealing the effects of the ship, or any of the commodities set apart to be exchanged, he must have him punished severely according to law, and more especially such as being in the service of the magazine have abused his confidence, and secreted goods for carrying on a fraudulent trade. He will strictly enjoin all under his command to maintain a good understanding with the natives, and try to conciliate their friendship by fair-dealing and kindness, and prohibit them, under the most rigorous penalties, to take by force what the inhabitants refused voluntarily to surrender.

The *Sieur de la Pérouse* will, on every occasion, treat the people he may visit with gentleness and humanity ; he will zealously exert himself to ameliorate their condition, by procuring for them the useful pot-herbs, fruits, and trees of Europe ; by teaching them the method of cultivation, and the use they ought to make



make of those presents, the object of which is to multiply on their soil the productions necessary to nations which derive almost all their sustenance from the ground.

Should imperious circumstances, against which prudence ought to provide on an expedition of so long duration, ever oblige the *Sieur de la Pérouse* to use superior force, to procure the necessaries of life, that force is to be exerted with the utmost moderation, and every transgression of orders to be punished with extreme rigour. In every other case, if he cannot make sure of the friendship of savages by kind treatment, he will endeavour to over-awe them by terror and threatenings, but never have recourse to arms, except in the last extremity, that is, in cases of self-defence, and when moderation might endanger the ships, and the lives of Frenchmen entrusted to his care.

His Majesty will consider it as one of the auspicious circumstances of the expedition, that it terminate without costing the life of a single individual.

## PART FIFTH.

*Precautions to be employed for preserving the Health of the Crews.*

The *Sieur de la Pérouse* being fully apprized of his Majesty's wishes, that the proposed expedition, so far from proving injurious to savage nations whom he may visit, should rather procure for them blessings which they want, must surely feel what particular attention he is bound to pay to the preservation of the crews under his command.

The ships are amply provided with every article that can either prevent the diseases of the sea, or check their progress, as also with those which are designed as substitutes for ordinary provisions, and to correct their bad effects. He will take care that these cordials

dials and correctives be seasonably applied, and with moderation; and will pay special attention to the resources which may present themselves in the ports where he may touch, to procure refreshments and wholesome food, in order to correct the effect of a long use of salted provisions. He will use his own discretion in directing the proper mode of stowage of the frigates, and when in port, will cause to be inspected and aired such parts of the provisions as discover a tendency to decay, in the view of stopping its progress.

He will neglect no opportunity of procuring fresh fish for his men, and of freshening his salted stores by the methods put into his power, and successfully practised by late navigators. He knows well that one of the precautions which most effectually contributes to the health of seamen, is unremitting attention to cleanliness, both in their persons and in the ships. He will employ for this purpose all the known methods of ventilation, fumigation, perfuming for sweetening and purifying the air in the hold, and between decks. He will every day, if possible, cause the seamen's hammocks and bedding be exposed to the air: and that they may not neglect personal cleanliness, he will divide them into parties, and confide the inspection of each division to an officer, who shall once a week report to the captain the state of the clothing, and the wants of his particular charge, and, upon an order from M. de la Pérouse, the supplemental clothing which has been put on board shall be distributed among the crews, according to the regulation laid down by the commanding officer, and as circumstances may require.

He will establish the most exact discipline on board the frigates, and carefully guard against every relaxation in this respect. But the severity necessary to all service, especially during an expedition of several years, will be tempered by the constant expression of the

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the paternal regard which he owes to the companions of his labours; and the King, knowing the sentiments with which he is animated, rests assured that he will unremittingly exert himself to procure for them all the accommodation and comfort compatible with the interests of the service, and the object of the embarkation. His Majesty could not give a more distinguished mark of the confidence he reposes in the *Sieur de la Pérouse's* zeal, capacity, and prudence, than by entrusting to his charge one of the most extensive enterprises ever projected. Preceding navigators in the career of discovery have left him great lessons and examples; but the King is persuaded that as ambitious of glory as his predecessors, as zealous for the extension of useful knowledge, and as persevering, he will one day merit himself to serve as a model to those who, animated by the same spirit, aim at the attainment of the same celebrity.

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NOTE.

In forming a plan of navigation for the expedition confided to *M. de la Pérouse*, the object was to point out a tract not pursued by former navigators; this appeared the surest method of multiplying discovery, and of promoting the great work of attaining a complete description of the terrestrial globe. It was necessary, however, to indicate islands already known, as places of call where he was sure of procuring the means of subsistence, by the aid of barter for the commodities with which he was provided, and adapted to the tastes of the islanders. But in pointing out to the French commander ports already frequented; he is directed to find his way to them in tracks not hitherto pursued, and the commodities to be exchanged consist of many articles yet unknown to the islanders, which will convince them that the importers belong

belong to a nation different from any of their former visitors. Various principles of calculation have been employed to estimate the duration of the several runs. In open seas the ships are supposed to make 30 leagues, under the trade winds, in 24 hours : 25 leagues only have been allowed to the same space of time, in latitudes where it is prudent to lie to in the night ; and only 20 leagues when the ships are on discovery, and in this case a certain number of days is added, to make up the time employed in reconnoitring. On these data are founded the durations of the runs and restings, but the whole submitted to the direction of unforeseen events and circumstances. The whole voyage will necessarily exceed four years : the objects in view could not have been accomplished in less time. The periodical returns of the monsoons, to the north and south of the line, are data to which the course must be subjected, and which mightily impede navigation in certain seas. This consideration has required various combinations to regulate particular courses, so as not greatly to increase the total duration of the voyage. The ships are amply provided with stores of every kind, more than sufficient for four years, making allowance for the incidental supplies to be expected at the various stopping places. Captain Cook's last voyage lasted four years, two months, and twenty-two days, and his ships were not provided as the King's will be. From the known character of M. de la Pérouse, his voyage, it is expected, will leave nothing to future navigators, but the merit of giving more circumstantial details respecting some portions of the globe.

All that remains is to indicate the method employed in constructing the hydrographic charts, to be transmitted to the commander, when approved of by his Majesty.

A first chart of the Southern Ocean has been prepared, on which are traced, after the journals of navigators,



vigators, the courses which led to discovery, and those are indicated which are still to be made or verified. This chart is constructed after the best French, Spanish, English, and Dutch charts, and regulated by astronomical observation, by which the position of the principal points of the continents and islands have been determined. The extent of the great Ocean, commonly called the *South Sea*, or Pacific Ocean, has rendered it necessary to divide it into three belts or zones; the 1st contains the great Southern Ocean, or the space contained between the antarctic polar circle and the tropic of Capricorn; the 2d is the grand equatorial Ocean, or interval contained between the tropics; and the 3d, the grand boreal Ocean, or the sea situated between the tropic of cancer and the arctic polar circle. As the course prescribed is not to extend beyond the 60th parallel, north and south, it was unnecessary to trace on the charts the great boreal polar, or the great southern polar Oceans.

In order to prepare a chart of the Great Ocean, the journals of all the navigators of the past and present century have been examined; their detailed plans have been consulted, and, by reducing the scale, have been brought into the general chart. All the known tracks of ancient and modern navigators are traced on it, to bring into one view recent and ancient discoveries, and to prove, in several cases, their identity. This general chart is the result of all that has been produced by navigators and geographers up to this day. To present in detail the materials employed would fill a volume. It is deemed sufficient to subjoin to the King's instructions to M. de la Pérouse, some geographical and historic notes on parts that need to be detailed; and to the general charts of the Great Ocean will be added thirty-seven other charts or original manuscript plans of the less frequented parts of those seas.

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## EXTRACTS

*From M. de la Pérouse's General Instructions.*

26th June, 1785.

HIS Majesty authorizes the Sieur de la Pérouse to grant to his crews a bounty of some months pay, the quantity to be regulated by circumstances, but that the amount of the bounties for the whole voyage shall not exceed a year's pay to each crew. Besides these bounties, which he is to announce to the petty officers, seamen, and soldiers, in case they have merited them, he will inform the two crews that it is his Majesty's intention, that the pay of such as may die on the expedition, reckoning from the day of their death, should go into a mass to be distributed, as a farther bounty, among the survivors of the crews to which the deceased respectively belonged; and that his pay up to the day of his death be accounted for to his family, as well as the value of his effects, if they have been given away.

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NOTES GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORIC,

*To be subjoined to the Memorial from the King, to serve as Particular Instructions to M. de la Pérouse, Captain in the Navy, and Commander of the Frigates la Boussole and Astrolabe.*

SOUTHERN ATLANTIC OCEAN.

1. The three rocks, situated S. S. W. of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verds, as well as the French beacon and breakers seen by the Cesar, in 1730, S. S. E. of the same island, are laid down after the English chart of the Atlantic, published at London, in 1777.
2. Pennedo de S. Pedro. The latitude is 55' north, as M. Daprès says he observed in 1750: he settles its longitude



longitude at  $29^{\circ}$  west of Paris, but from later and more accurate observation, it appears to be  $34'$  more to westward.

3. The shoals near the line are laid down conformably to the instructions of the Neptune Oriental.

4. The small Island of St. Paul, seen in the same latitude by the ship of le Vaillant, is laid down after *Sailing Directions for the East Indies*, London 1781; but it differs  $35'$  as to longitude.

5. Fernando de Noronha, is laid down conformably to Captain Cook's determination  $3^{\circ} 53'$  south,  $34^{\circ} 53' 50''$  west from Paris.

6. St. Matthew's Island was discovered by a Portuguese, in 1525, but had been discovered 87 years before. It is laid down after the general chart of Cook's third voyage. Its position is however still uncertain.

7. The Islands Fernando Po, Prince's, St. Thomas, and Annobon, are placed according to observations made by Varella, a Spanish navigator, in 1779, as under; Fernando Po,  $3^{\circ} 28'$  north,  $6^{\circ} 30'$  west from Paris; Prince's,  $1^{\circ} 39'$  north,  $5^{\circ} 2'$  west; St. Thomas's,  $20'$  north,  $4^{\circ} 34'$  west; Annobon,  $1^{\circ} 25'$  south,  $3^{\circ} 25'$  west. Conformable to these longitudes, those of Cape Verd, Sierra Leone, the Islands of Los, and the Cape of Good Hope, where observations have been made in like manner, the positions of the different points on the west coast of Africa have been regulated.

8. Ascension Island is placed agreeably to Cook's observations; middle of the island  $8^{\circ}$  south,  $16^{\circ} 50'$  west from Paris.

9. Island of St. Helena is likewise placed conformably to Cook's and Halley's observations, at fort James,  $16^{\circ}$  south according to Halley,  $8^{\circ} 11'$  west, according to Cook. But according to Dr. Maskelyne, Royal Observer at Greenwich, the latitude of St. Helena is  $15^{\circ} 55'$  south, and its longitude, from an ob-

ervation made by himself on the first of Jupiter's satellites, is  $8^{\circ} 9'$  west.

10. The Island of Trinidad is placed according to its distance from Cape Frio, on the coast of Brasil, as given by Daprès; north coast,  $20^{\circ} 25'$  south,  $32^{\circ} 15'$  west from Paris. Dos Picos is placed after the Dutch charts, subjecting its position to that of Trinidad.

11. Isles of Martin-Vas, are three rocks lying relatively to each other north and south, excepting the most northerly, which is thrown a little more to the west: their extent is not above a mile. Bouvet says that they are eight leagues distant, and lie  $\frac{1}{4}$  north-east from Trinidad, being in the same latitude with that island.

12. Island of Ascençon, on the coast of Brasil is placed after Daprès,  $20^{\circ} 25'$  south,  $38^{\circ}$  west. This position supposes its distance from Cape Frio to be 120 leagues.

13. Rock discovered in 1692; and Rock under water in 1701. These dangers are placed after Dalrymple's chart of the South Sea.

14. Saxenburg, and island discovered by Lindeman, a Hollander, in 1670, in  $30^{\circ} 45'$  south, and about  $22^{\circ}$  west.

15. Kattendyke is laid down after Dalrymple's chart, and the general chart of Cook's third voyage.

16. Islands of Tristan d'Acunha; their position is regulated after Daprès, who fixes them between  $37^{\circ} 10'$  and  $37^{\circ} 45'$  south, and from  $16^{\circ} 30'$  to  $17^{\circ}$  west, after a mean result between the different runs of several ships, which give  $34^{\circ}$  for the difference of meridian between those isles and the Cape of Good Hope, which is  $16^{\circ} 3' 45''$  east of Paris. Halley places the southmost of them in  $37^{\circ} 25'$  south. Besides the anchoring ground on the north of the largest, there is a sort of harbour to the east of the southmost point, not visible in running down the coast, from the vast quantity of canes thrown down and floating across in certain

\* The above Roche's which we the same tions and



certain winds. It is about half a mile broad, and three fourths deep, in form of a horse-shoe. It has 28 fathoms water at the middle of the inlet, and 14 near the shore: the depth is likewise 14 fathom in the middle of the length, and 10 at the head of the harbour; the bottom is black sand, and good holding ground.

17. Island of Diego d'Alvarez, is laid down after the general chart of Cook's third voyage, and its bearing and distance from the Islands of Tristan d'Acunha, according as they are given in that chart,  $38^{\circ} 53'$  south,  $13^{\circ}$  west.

18. Gough's Island, so called from an English East-India captain, who discovered it in 1715. It is very high land, in  $40^{\circ} 15'$  south, and  $1^{\circ} 57'$  west of Greenwich, that is,  $4^{\circ} 17'$  west of Paris. Vincent, commander of the *Osterley* East-Indiaman, found it in the latitude indicated by the discoverer, but from his own calculations, he reckons the longitude to be fixed too far to the east by some degrees. This island is not known to French navigators: but as it may lie in the way of ships going directly to India or China, early in the season, without touching at the cape, it appears an interesting object to ascertain its true position, and M. de la Pérouse, it is hoped, may be able to accomplish this.

19. Isle Grande de la Roche can be laid down only by conjecture, from a relation extracted and translated from a Spanish geographical work, printed at Madrid in 1690 \*. In laying down the Isle Grande, its position has been regulated by that of the first land which la Roche had discovered to the east of Staten

\* The French compiler here introduces a long quotation from the above-mentioned Spanish work, containing an account of la Roche's passage round Cape Horn, and subsequent discoveries, which we omitted, as foreign to the design of this publication. For the same reason we have not translated many other tedious quotations and discussions.

Land, and which has recently been re-discovered, and called by Cook the Island of Georgia. There is reason to think that the Isle Grand of la Roche is the same land which had been discovered by Americus Vespuisus, on his third voyage, in 1502.

20. Terre de la Roche, the Georgia of Cook, and laid down by him between  $53^{\circ} 57'$  and  $54^{\circ} 57'$  south, and between  $40^{\circ} 33'$  and  $37^{\circ} 54'$  west.

21. Sandwich Land, discovered in 1775: it is laid down on the chart conformably to Cook's journal and determination.

22. Christmas Sound, on the south-west coast of Terradel Fuego, laid down after the journal and charts of Cook's second voyage.

#### GREAT SOUTH SEA.

23. Drake's Island and Harbour, placed by geographers in 180 or 200 leagues W. S. W. from Cape Horn. Many accounts of Drake's voyage round the world have been published in England; they differ essentially from each other respecting the position of the lands discovered by that celebrated navigator, after his passage through the straits of Magellan. It is not to be doubted that, if the weather favour M. de la Pérouse, he will one day furnish a verification, which shall serve to destroy for ever an error in geography. Cook, in 1769, and Furneaux, in 1775, pursued tracts which, if these lands existed at the place assigned them by geographers, must have enabled those navigators, if not to see them, at least to perceive some sign, some indication of land; and it is well known that neither of them discerned the slightest trace.

24. Theodore Gerard's Land. He was among the first Dutch navigators who made a voyage in the Great Ocean; he was driven by a storm in 1599, as far as  $64^{\circ}$  south, where he discovered a mountainous

country



country covered with snow, resembling Norway. It is laid down at  $16^{\circ}$  west of the meridian of Cape Horn.

25. Land said to have been seen by the Spaniards 1714, but of uncertain existence and position. It is placed on the chart of the Great South Sea,  $33^{\circ}$  south, and between  $108^{\circ}$  and  $109^{\circ}$  west. This position agrees with the opinion of Cook.

26. Easter Island, discovered in 1722 by Rogge-  
wein, a Dutchman, and visited by Cook in 1774, who determined its position. The Spaniards touched here in 1770, and called it San Carlos. They place it at  $27^{\circ} 6'$  south, and  $268^{\circ} 19'$  from the meridian of Teneriff, or  $110^{\circ} 41'$  west from Paris, that is, they have carried it about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  degrees too far to the east. The variation of the compass was there, according to the Spaniards, in 1770,  $2^{\circ} 30'$  north-east.

27. Islands said to be seen by the Spaniards in 1773,  $32^{\circ}$  south, and  $130^{\circ}$  west from Paris. This position has been adopted by Cook, but is still disputable.

## GREAT EQUATORIAL OCEAN.

28. Islands of this vast Sea, between  $26^{\circ}$  and  $10^{\circ}$  south, in the space contained between  $130^{\circ}$  west, and  $170^{\circ}$  east of Paris. For all these M. de la Pérouse is referred to the voyages of Byron, Bougainville, Carteret, Wallis, Furneaux, and Cook, as containing every necessary geographical, physical, and historical detail, for the pursuit of his object. For the islands anciently discovered in those latitudes, he is referred to the chart constructed on the observations made by Mendana, Quiros, Torrez, Maire, Schouten, Tasman, and Roggewein, with instructions to verify, by his own observation, the mistakes of the ancient, rectified by modern, navigators. For this purpose he is furnished with an abstract (1) of Magellan's voyage, in

f 3

1519;

1519; (2) of Mendana's, in 1567; (3) of Mendana's second voyage, in 1595; (4) of the voyage of de Quiros and de Torrez, in 1606; (5) of the voyage of le Maire and Schouten, in 1616; (6) of Abel Tasman, in 1642; (7) and of Roggewein, in 1722.

29. New Caledonia. It does not appear that the ancient navigators knew any thing of this island. De la Pérouse is referred to Cook's details of it, who discovered it on his second voyage, and to the chart relative to its discovery.

30. Santa Cruz, discovered by Mendana on his second voyage, or Egmont and Queen Charlotte's Islands, visited by Carteret, in 1767.

31. Terra del Espíritu Santo, discovered by Quiros in 1606; or the Great Cyclades of Bougainville, in 1768, and the New Hebrides of Cook, in 1774.

All this part has been laid down on the chart of the Great Equatorial Ocean, after Cook's journal and observations.

32. Land of the Arfacides, discovered by Surville, in 1769. At the moment of discovery, the latitude of the vessel was  $6^{\circ} 57'$  south, and her longitude, by calculation,  $152^{\circ} 28'$  east of Paris. But this longitude, corrected by that of New Zealand, as determined by Cook, must be  $153^{\circ} 45'$  at the point where land was first descried.

33. Terres de la Louisiade, discovered by Bougainville, in 1768. La Pérouse is here referred to Bougainville's voyage.

34. Endeavour Straits, between New Holland and New Guinea. La Pérouse is here referred to Hawkesworth's collection of voyages round the world, vol. iii. p. 610, &c.

35. North and west coasts of New Holland. There is nothing to offer that can be deemed authentic or sufficiently detailed respecting this part of the greatest island in the world. La Pérouse is referred to Dampier's voyages, for the north coast, and to de Brossé's

Navigations



Navigations aux Terres Australes, for the north and western coasts, and he is furnished with a copy of the soundings, and other particulars extracted from the journals of the English navigators who have more recently visited those parts.

36. Van Diemen's Southern Land, part of the south of New Holland. Consult Cook's second and third voyages.

37. New Zealand. Cook's voyages supply every thing to be wished on this subject, as they contain, besides astronomical and nautical observations, and descriptions, all the particular plans and charts constructed by English navigators.

38. The Marquesas de Mendoza, discovered by Mendana, in 1595, and re-discovered by Cook, in 1774, to whose relation reference may be had for every thing that concerns their description and geographical position.

39. Nublada, Rocca Partida, and others, E. S. E. of Sandwich Islands. They are laid down on the chart of the Great Equatorial Ocean, after that of Anson's voyage, and which is copied from one found on board the Manilla galleon which he had captured.

40. Sandwich Islands, discovered by Cook, on his third voyage, in 1778. To him and Captain King we owe every detail which has reached us respecting those islands.

#### GREAT NORTHERN OCEAN.

41. North-west coasts of America, from port Monterey, situated toward  $36^{\circ} 42'$  north, to the Aleutian Islands. In tracing the chart of those coasts of the Great Boreal Ocean, for the use of M. de la Pérouse, the geographical positions laid down by the Spaniards are combined with those of Cook, which last serve to rectify the former. He is desired to verify facts by his own observation, and is referred to Cook's third

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voyage,

voyage, and the charts annexed to it, as well as to those which make part of the M. S. collection.

42. The Aleutians, or Islands of Foxes, and others, which are supposed to be situated to the W., the W. S. W., and the W. N. W. of these. Cook visited only those of Oonalashka, the straits which separate them, and a few of their harbours. The other isles of this cluster, and those situated more to the west are known to us only from the Russian accounts of them, which are too inaccurate to be depended on. De la Pérouse will consider them merely as a vocabulary, and look out for those islands as if they were absolutely unknown. He may however consult Coxe's work entitled, *Discoveries of the Russians*.

43. Port d'Awatscha, or St. Peter and St. Paul, at the extremity of the peninsula of Kamtschatka. He is furnished with a particular plan of this port, on a great scale, differing from that in Cook's third voyage, to which he is referred on touching there.

44. Kurile Islands. Captain Gore, who succeeded Cook and Clerke in the command, visited none of them. Muller says, that *Yesso* or *Jesso* is the name given to all the islands denominated by the Russians *Kurilski* or *Kuriles*. The most northern of them is very near the southmost point of Kamtschatka. They are 22 in number, and at no great distance from each other. The inhabitants are supposed to be susceptible of friendship, hospitable, generous, and humane. Consult Cook's third voyage.

45. Land of Yesso or Jesso. The Japanese confound this with the Kuriles, but they are generally believed to be different. Cook has thrown no light on the subject. De la Pérouse is furnished with a copy of the chart constructed by the Dutch, which presents a detail of all their discoveries in those seas.

46. East coast of Japan. A chart of a small portion of it is to be found in Cook's third voyage, and nautical observations relative to it.



47. Lekeyo Islands, to the S. W. of Japan. Buache has given extracts from all the letters of missionaries relative to those islands.

48. Great Island, populous and rich, said to have been discovered by the Spaniards about 1600. Referred to a passage in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1674, for some particulars relating to this island.

## SUPPLEMENT.

49. Caroline Islands. Of these a particular chart has been constructed after that of Father Cantova, and the relations of other missionaries, which have been printed as a supplement to the *Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes*, by de Broffes.

50. An island to the south, between Mindanao and the Moluccas. Consult, for all this part, Forster's voyage to New Guinea.

51. Straits the east and west of Timor. M. de la Pérouse is referred to Dampier's voyages for instructions which may assist him in navigating the ships through one or the other of those straits, as the wind and other circumstances may direct.

52. As to the Isle of France and Cape of Good Hope, he is referred to the *Neptune Oriental* of Dapès, and the instructions subjoined.

53. Marseveen and Denia; two little islands known to the Dutch, and furnishing them a supply of wood, and yet their position is not determined. Cook regrets that it was not in his power to look for them. They are laid down conformably to the position given them on the general chart of his third voyage; Marseveen, in  $40^{\circ} 30'$  south, and  $2^{\circ} 45'$  east of the Cape of Good Hope; and Denia in  $41^{\circ}$  south, and  $3^{\circ}$  east of the Cape.

54. Cape, or Isle, Circumcision, discovered January 1st, 1739, by M. de Lozier Bouvet. Its position is still

still undetermined; having escaped the researches both of Cook and Furneaux, and all posterior navigators; and the discoverer not having fixed it with sufficient accuracy.



### LETTER

*From M. le Marechal de Castries, to M. de Condorcet,  
Secretary to the Academy of Sciences.*

*Dated Versailles, March, 1785.*

IN this farther preliminary piece, the Marechal informs the Academy of his Majesty's resolution to issue orders for a voyage of discovery round the globe, and explains the general and particular objects which it had in view. He calls upon them to digest a memoir containing a detail of the different physical, astronomical, geographical, and other observations proper to be made, both by sea and land, to direct and assist the persons to be employed on the expedition; and concludes with expressing a wish that the illumination of that learned body, co-operating with the zeal and exertions of the naval officers might be productive of the happiest effects on the progress and improvement of science.

This produces, on the part of the Academy,

#### A DIGESTED MEMOIR,

*For the Use of the learned and scientific Persons about  
to embark under M. de la Pérouse.*

To reduce this summary to all possible order and perspicuity, the Academy collects, under one point of view, observations relative to several branches of sciences, allied by the nature of their object, though cultivated



cultivated by different descriptions of men. At the head of the memoir they place in one class,

## GEOMETRY, ASTRONOMY, MECHANICS.

They recommend, as peculiarly interesting, to apply unremittingly to ascertain the length of the pendulum of a second's vibration, in different latitudes, from a persuasion that an aggregate of operations to this effect, carefully performed by the same persons, with the same instruments, would be invaluable; they therefore intreat the navigators to pursue this object, with all possible exactness, wherever they stop.

The determination of longitudes being a primary object to navigators, they are requested to preserve the original calculations of observations of longitude, by the distance of the moon from certain stars, that in case some astronomer should afterwards, by new observations made on land, correct the principles which may have determined the longitudes in question, that correction may be employed in its turn, to rectify the calculation of those very longitudes.

Navigators know before hand the moment of the eclipses to take place during their voyage, and the places where they will be visible. They are requested not to confine their observation to the instants of beginning and ending, but to designate the progress with all possible precision.

The phenomena of the tides are too interesting to seamen to be overlooked. They must carefully mark the double tide of every day. And some perhaps need to be informed, that we have no accurate observations of the tides on the west coast of Africa, on that of America, any more than of the Moluccas and Philippines.

Observations relative to geography being suggested in his Majesty's instructions, the Academy will only subjoin a few remarks communicated by M. Buache their geographic associate.

## PHYSICS.

## PHYSICS.

Under this head the navigators are directed to make accurate observations of the daily variation of the magnetic needle, every time they go on shore, and at sea whenever the weather permits: to keep an exact account of the height of the barometer, near the equator, at different hours of the day; and try to ascertain whether, as some have remarked, the mercury stands an inch higher on the west coast of America than on the east: to employ small air balloons to determine the height at which the winds blowing in the lower region of the atmosphere change their direction, and the course of those directions; and to prepare themselves to give an accurate account of the currents in the various parts of the globe. They are desired to observe the auroras, boreal and austral, and examine their height and amplitude; and to mark every circumstance which may serve to explain the phenomenon of water-spouts: to make frequent experiments on the different degrees of temperature of the sea, and its saltness in different latitudes, and at different depths: to examine and distinguish the floating ices they may meet; and to observe more closely the phenomenon of the light which sometimes shines on the surface of the sea, in the view of ascertaining its real cause.

## CHEMISTRY.

To throw light on the theory of gas, it would be of importance to ascertain whether or not the air is purer or contains more vital particles, at the surface of great extents of sea, than elsewhere. They are desired to enquire whether sedative salt is found in the lakes of the countries they visit, as it certainly is in some we know. They may probably meet with  
mineral



mineral alkali, and will examine the substances with which it is mixed, its distance from the sea, &c. in order to trace the process of nature in producing the alkalization of marine salt. They will observe in the several countries they visit, the colours employed in dying, the substances whence they are extracted, and the mode of application.

## ANATOMY.

Beside attention to the exterior of the various tribes of the human race, comparison might be extended to the interior parts. The skull and *os hyoides* of a full-sized body might be procured, among a people sensibly differing from Europeans in the form of the face, or of the whole head, and thus knowledge might be acquired respecting the varieties of the human species from the form of the bones of the head. The proportions of the human figure, in different nations, might be compared with those which limners observe in representing *beautiful nature*, by dividing the height, taken in a straight line, into eight parts, from the heel to the crown of the head. The dimensions most accurately to be ascertained are, the length of both arms, extended from tip to tip of the middle fingers; the length of one arm, from the arm-pit to the tip of the middle finger; the circumference of the head, at the height of the forehead; that of the chest, at the paps; that of the belly, at the navel. Examine whether, in countries where the men are of extraordinary stature, there be six *lumbar vertebræ*, or only five; enquire what is the duration of life, and the age of puberty.

## ZOOLOGY.

The *histoire naturelle générale & particulière*, and the ornithology of Brisson are recommended as models.

dels. In examining uncommon shells, the object should be to discover all that are to be found on the same coast, the predominant species, and the conformation of the animals they contain; to compare the petrified shell-fish of different latitudes, with the live ones in the seas adjoining, and to discover whether the petrefactions of Europe have their living analogies in distant seas.

## MINERALOGY.

The examination of the strata which form the correspondent coasts of a strait, or the soil of an island, on one side, and that of the continent which fronts it, on the other, will lead to form a conclusion whether a coast be of ancient or recent formation; whether an island is adjacent to the mouth of a river, or has made part of the continent. Observe, in small islands, and parts of continents that can be examined in detail, at what height above the level of the sea marine deposits are found in horizontal strata. Try to ascertain whether mountains, composed of horizontal and calcareous strata, diminish in height as you approach the equator. Collect as great a number as possible of crystalizations. To this is subjoined a list of the species exhibited in Daubenton's nomenclature. They will procure specimens of the most singular woods and marbles; and they will satisfy themselves whether crystals, which become electric by simple heat, manifest the positive or negative electricity at one of their extremities, relatively to their position.

## BOTANY.

Let their researches be directed to objects of utility, such as the knowledge of the plants used by different nations for food, medicine, or in works of art.



art. Let them make a rich and varied collection of the grains of exotic trees and plants, picked up in a temperature, not greatly different from that of France, whose productions, naturalized to our climate, may one day enrich our plantations, and adorn our meadows.

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## OBSERVATIONS OF M. BUACHE.

*These indicate the Parts of the Ocean in which New Discoveries may most probably be made.*

1. IN the southern division of the Pacific Ocean there are two spaces hitherto very little known, and in which there is every reason to hope that new lands may be found. The first is that situated to the south of Easter and Pitcairn Islands, between  $30^{\circ}$  and  $35^{\circ}$  S. and the second space, which deserves to be more particularly reconnoitred, is that contained between the New Hebrides and New Guinea.

2. The northern part of this ocean, still less known, may open a field of still more extensive discovery. To the south of the Mariannes, between  $5^{\circ}$  and  $10^{\circ}$  N. there is a chain of islands, divided into several clusters, and extending more than  $25^{\circ}$  in longitude; and which are known only in a vague description, and from a chart constructed on the report of some of the islanders, who were thrown by a storm on the Isle of Guaham. The part of those seas to the north of the Mariannes, or to the east of Japan, are equally unknown, only we have sufficient indications that this space contains a considerable number of islands, and these very interesting; one particularly of great extent, about 300 leagues east of Japan, whither its inhabitants come to trade. The land of Jesso cannot

not possibly be such as the English and Russians have represented it.

3. On the west coast of America, to the north of California, the river of Martin d'Aguilar may assuredly be found again, in the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$ . He was one of the pilots of Sebastian Viscaino, whose voyage through those seas is highly interesting. It were to be wished that some information could be obtained respecting the inland nations to the north of California; and that on the return, the islands of Denia and Marseveen, to the south of the Cape of Good-Hope, could be explored. The navigators would do well to procure for us the names given by the natives to the islands they may discover, and a vocabulary of names given by them to objects the most remarkable, and of the first importance.

#### EXAMINATION OF THE NATURE OF THE AIR.

In order to determine the degree of its salubrity, in different latitudes, and at different elevations, the application of nitrous air seems the most simple and most infallible. The first requisite is to procure nitrous air, nearly pure. That produced from the solution of mercury by the nitrous acid, is the purest; for want of it, that obtained from iron may be used. Introduce 200 parts of nitrous air into the eudiometer; add to it 100 parts of the air to be proved, and observe the number of parts remaining after absorption. Subtract this remainder from the sum of the two airs, multiply this result by 40, and divide the product by 109, the quotient will express the quantity of vital air contained in the 100 parts of the air examined. Make a memorandum of the height of the barometer and thermometer.

SPECIFIC



## SPECIFIC GRAVITY OF THE AIR.

The navigators must have a globe of glass fitted to their air pump, which they can exhaust and fill at pleasure. By weighing this globe full and empty, the specific gravity of air, in different latitudes, will be thus obtained. During each experiment the height of the barometer and thermometer must be accurately observed, and the operator provided with a very exact balance, capable of ascertaining the gravity with ease, to the precision of half a grain.

## EXAMINATION OF WATER.

They are referred to the experiments of the Abbé Chappe, and the results of them published by M. de Cassini. These may assist them in determining, upon a single voyage, the degree of saltiness of almost every sea. They only need, for this purpose, a very accurate hydrometer; which may likewise be employed for determining the specific gravity of the water of lakes, rivers, and springs; and by joining to these some experiments made with reagents, an idea may be acquired not only of the quality, but likewise of the quantity of salts contained in those waters. When a particular water shall appear to present any thing interesting, a part of it may be evaporated, and the residuum put up, carefully labelled, to be more closely examined at the end of the voyage.

## QUESTIONS

*Proposed by the Medical Society to the Gentlemen who are to accompany M. de la Pérouse, read in the Sitting of May 31, 1785.*

As these questions are numerous, they are exhibited under titles which form so many heads of medical research.

## I. ANATOMY, PHYSIOLOGY.

*Structure of the Human Body, and Functions of its Organs.*

THE descriptions of most travellers, on this subject, are known to be exaggerated and erroneous; but more exactness is expected from the scientific persons who accompany M. de la Pérouse, and they are requested to observe the following objects with peculiar attention :

1. The ordinary structure of both sexes; the great and small diameter of the head; the length of the upper and lower extremities, measured from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, of the thigh to the extremity of the great or second toe; the circumference of the pelvis; the breadth of the chest, of the shoulders; the height of the vertebral column, from the first vertebre of the neck to the sacrum.

2. The form, the colour of the skin, and its different regions; as also of the hair and nails.

3. The particular form of the skull; that of the face, particularly of the forehead, of the nose, eyes, ears, mouth, chin, teeth, tongue, the hair of the head and of the beard. These parts of the body islanders are accustomed to deform in various ways.

4. Procure an exact description of the process,  
and



and the substances employed in making indelible marks on the skin, and all other circumstances relative to such disfigurements.

5. The defect, excess, or different conformation of various parts of the body; are these the uniform production of natural organization, or the effect of certain particular practices? Are there ambidexters, or is the right-hand universally pre-eminent?

6. The comparative strength of the men, capability of bearing burthens; of walking, running, as to time, and space.

7. The senses of seeing, hearing, smelling. Does the acuteness of one sense impair that of any other?

8. The voice, distinctness of articulation, the mode of expressing joy, pleasure, sorrow.

9. The age of puberty in both sexes, the menstrual flux, pregnancy, child-bearing, suckling, proportion of males and females.

10. Proportion of deaths before the age of puberty: the medium length of human life in different climates.

11. Frequency or slowness of the pulse, which is in Europe from 65 to 70 in a minute.

12. The affinity between the colour of the skin and that of the humours.

13. Are there men with milk in their breasts? What is to be said of the hermaphrodites of Louisiana? Is the sexual inclination periodical among savages?

## II. HEALTH.

*Of the Air, Water, Food, Habitations, Clothing, Exercise, Passions.*

1. Air in different places to be tried by the eudiometer; highest and lowest temperature in the sun and in the shade, dryness, humidity, gravity, elasticity, electric state; division of seasons; prevailing winds,

winds, their variations; the nature of the meteors, snow, hail, rain, thunder, hurricanes, water-spouts; corruption by vapours or emanations.

2. Examination of sea-water at various depths and distances from land; fresh and brackish water, the nature of salt contained; what sort the natives drink, mineral waters, cold and hot; made drinks, sweet or fermented; their mode and materials of preparation, the substances of which they are composed, their effect, particularly the *kava* described by Anderson.

3. Aliments. Vegetable or animal food, or both? Seasoning, cookery, times of eating, quantity? Do they use salt? The resemblance which their roots, fruits, &c. have to our pot-herbs? Their farinaceous plants, the fern of New Zealand, sugary substances?

4. Habitations, their form, extent, openings, exposure, of what soil, of what materials, what shelter they afford, dryness, humidity? Do the natives resort thither during the night, the whole year round, or occasionally? What numbers to one house? On what do they sleep? Are there tribes who always live in the air? Their clothing, form, materials, varieties?

5. Employments of both sexes, labour, exercise, how far conducive or injurious to health?

6. Passions, manners, leading character? Practices favourable to the secretion of humours, chewing tobacco, betel, &c. smoking, frictions, unctions, bathings, with their effects, particularly that of tattooing?

### III. DISEASES.

1. Are there any acute diseases or fevers among those islanders? What eruptive disorders? Does the small-pox exist? What is its progress, its ravages? Is inoculation practised? Is the small-pox any where endemical? What other contagious or  
epidemical



PRELIMINARY INSTRUCTIONS.

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epidemical diseases? Have they been visited with the plague? Are children subject to the tetanus and the croup?

2. To what are we to ascribe the frequency of tetter and ulcers in some of those islands? To oily unctions or the stinging of insects? Do these breed in them frequently, as in the ulcers of hot climates? Are the ulcers which corrode the face cancerous? Are they subject to the leprosy, the lousy distemper, and the dracunculus?

3. Does the venereal disease exist among them? Does it appear to be natural, or to have been imported? The mode of cure? In what state is it in the Friendly or Society Islands? The symptoms? Is it true that the gonorrhea is unknown among those islanders?

4. Is the scurvy endemical in any particular latitude? What its symptoms and ravages in hot or cold climates? What its cure?

5. Are the rickets known in those countries? Do nervous, convulsive, spasmodic, but especially epileptic disorders exist among them? Are children subject to any illness, particularly convulsions, while they are teething?

6. Are there any persons, male or female, particularly charged with tending the sick? What remedies or processes do they employ? Are there hospitals, or do they seclude patients of certain classes from society?

IV. MATERIA MEDICA.

The navigators will investigate the virtue of the plants whose favour and other physical properties may communicate to them any medical information. The following articles are submitted to their consideration:

1. Examine the taste, the smell, of the roots, woods, barks, leaves, flowers, fruits, and seeds of the vegetable

vegetables of countries imperfectly known, and compare them with the different vegetable substances used as medicines in Europe, and make the same experiments on the saps of trees, as well as on animal substances.

2. Observe the remedies used in warm countries to counteract peculiar disorders, and even describe the superstitious processes which are frequently the only medicine of barbarous nations.

3. Try the decoctions of some of the emollient, aromatic, acrid plants, on cutaneous disorders.

4. Employ mercury in friction in venereal cases, and assist the islanders in delivering themselves from this terrible scourge; above all, observe the effects of mercury.

Discover whether certain sudorific vegetables have not an antivenereal virtue in those islands.

6. Discover whether there may not exist, in some warm countries, plants analogous to the jesuit's bark, the simarouba, the ipecacuanha, the camphor, the opium, &c. and whether the islands produce emetic or purgative plants which might be turned to good account.

7. Procure information, and make observations on the properties of the anacardium, which is said to be a cure for insanity; on the virtues of the *telephium* and of the *granum marinum*, which the Greenlanders prefer to the cochlearia as an antiscorbutic; on Winter's bark, the root of Belaage, of Columbo, and that of Juan Lopez.

8. What nations use poisoned arrows, what substances they employ for this purpose, what antidotes to counteract their deleterious action, and, above all, whether salt and sugar possess this quality?

9. Examine the animals, particularly serpents and venomous fishes, and discover the cause of this dangerous property in these last, and the means of prevention.

10. Collect



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10. Collect carefully the remedies, internal and external, which are applied as specifics, the mode of preparation, of application, the doses, the effects, and the period of the disease at which they are administered.

11. Put up in a separate herbal the plants or parts of plants which are used as food, medicine, or poison.

CHIRURGERY.

1. Are dislocations, fractures, ruptures, and surgical maladies, in general, common among people who live in a state of nature?

2. What means do they employ for curing those disorders?

3. Have they particular instruments? What is their form, of what materials, how used? Buy some, and make a collection.

4. Are circumcision and infibulation practised? How is the operation performed?

5. Are there any persons, male or female, particularly entrusted with the treatment of such and such a surgical case, as of the eyes, ears, teeth, skin, child bearing?

6. What is the form and nature of their warlike instruments, that of the wounds they inflict, the mode of treatment and cure?

(Signed)

MAUDUYT,  
VIC-D'AZYR,  
DE FOURCROY, and  
THOURET.

*At the Louvre, 31st May, 1789.*

# SKETCH

*Of Experiments to be made for preserving Water on Ship-board from Corruption, communicated by the Abbé Tessier, of the Academy of Sciences, and of the Medical Society.*

TWENTY casks of equal size are to be selected on the voyage, similar to those which contain the rest of the fresh water; they are to be of the same wood, and hooped as the others, stowed in the same part of the ship, and without any particular precaution.

1st Experiment. The water with which two of the casks are to be filled, must first be boiled for half an hour. There are no insects' eggs which can stand this degree of heat without perishing. Mark the casks No. 1. E. B, No. 2. E. B. the initials of *eau bouillie*, boiled water.

2d Experiment. Let the inside of other two be impregnated with quick lime dissolved in boiling water, repeating the operation twice or thrice; for this purpose a brush must be used, and strongly applied to the staves and seams, that the lime water may penetrate the deeper. It is plain that one of the ends must be out when this is doing, and the inside of it must be likewise impregnated before it is replaced. These two are to be filled with water which has not boiled, and marked No. 1. E. C. S. No. 2. E. C. S. the initials of *eau chaulée simplement*, water limed simply.

3d Experiment. This is to combine the two preceding, by filling the two casks, impregnated as before, with boiled water; let the one be marked No. 1. E. B. C. the other No. 2, E. B. C. the initials of *eau bouillie, chaulée*, boiled water, limed.

4th Experiment. To two casks of water, boiled and limed as before, add four ounces of the spirit of vitriol for every 250 pints of water, Paris measure, marked



PRELIMINARY INSTRUCTIONS.

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marked No. 1. No. 2. E. B. C. V. the initials of *eau bouillie, chaulée, vitriolisée*, boiled water, limed, vitriolated.

5th Experiment. Fill two other casks with fresh water neither boiled nor limed, and add the vitriol in the above proportions, and mark them No. 1. No. 2. E. S. V. the initials of *eau simple, vitriolisée*, plain water, vitriolated.

6th Experiment. To two casks of boiled water add the vitriol as before, and mark them No. 1. No. 2. E. B. V. the initials of *eau bouillie, vitriolisée*, boiled water, vitriolated.

7th Experiment. Let two casks be tarred over on the outside, and filled with boiled water without any internal impregnation, and mark No. 1. No. 2. E. B. G. E. the initials of *eau bouillie, goudronnée exterieurement*, boiled water, tarred externally.

8th Experiment. Impregnate with lime internally, as in the 2d, 3d, and 4th experiments, two casks of boiled water, and likewise tar them on the outside. Mark them No. 1. No. 2. E. B. C. G. the initials of *eau bouillie, chaulée, goudronnée*, boiled water, limed, tarred.

9th Experiment. Let two be tarred simply on the outside, and filled with plain water which has not boiled, marked No. 1. No. 2. E. S. G. E. the initials of *eau simple, goudronnée exterieurement*, plain water, tarred externally.

10th Experiment. Fill two with plain water, without any preparation whatever, external or internal, of either the water or the casks. This experiment is an object of comparison with all the others.

The water is not to be boiled till the casks are quite ready, and they must be filled immediately, lest other insects should deposit their eggs in it; and it is obvious that all the experiment casks should be closely bunged up. When, from the heat, the rest of the water on board begins to corrupt, each of the experiment

riment casks ought to be examined at the same time, and their taste, smell and transparency observed ; the gravity must be tried by the hydrostatical balance, and the temperature, by introducing the thermometer into the cask ; in an equal quantity of each sort, an equal quantity of dry pulse, such as had been used before sailing, must be boiled ; finally, an equal quantity of the soap formerly employed, must be dissolved in equal quantities of the several waters.

Carefully remark if insects are forming in them, of what species, trace their metamorphoses, preserve some of them in spirits to be brought home. If the necessities of the ship's company permit, the remaining casks of the ten experiments ought not to be touched before arriving in a different climate, and still in a latitude where common water will corrupt ; in this case, let them be examined as before.

An exact account must be kept of every thing done and observed in the experiments, to be signed by M. de la Pérouse, his officers, and the naturalists on board. It is to be wished that each of the ships should repeat the experiments at the same time. Double observations will confirm each other, and carry the fact up to demonstration. The experiment water will be as good as any other, and so no room will be uselessly occupied.

M. de la Pérouse is requested to sign two copies of this sketch, together with the author of it, each of the parties to keep one, as a testimony of the engagement he enters into with the public, to superintend experiments which may tend greatly to promote the comfort of navigators.

*At Rambouillet, May 19th, 1785.*

(Signed)

TESSIER.

LA PÉROUSE.

MEMOIR



## MEMOIR

*To direct the Gardener in the Labours of his Voyage round the World; by M. Thouin, first Botanical Gardener.*

The object which this branch of the expedition has in view is two-fold; to send to the inhabitants of newly discovered countries the vegetable productions of Europe which may be useful to them; and to receive from them in return such of their productions as are calculated to enrich Europe. This memoir is accordingly divided into two parts corresponding to this double object of mutual benefit.

## PART FIRST.

*Choice, Nature and Culture of the Vegetables to be transported from France.*

Nutritious plants deserve the preference; the choice, therefore, must be made among our leguminous plants, and most valuable trees. Such as need no preparation in order to be used as food, must have the first rank; and those which need only to be roasted to become eatable must occupy the second. To these limits we ought to restrict the presents which we mean to make to a race of men who, destitute of vessels proper for boiling, could make no use of vegetables that require this mode of cookery. Plants of easy culture ought to have the preference.

No seeds to be put up but of last year's growth, perfectly matured and sound. Some need only to be kept from air and moisture, others must be laid in earth or sand, to preserve their germinative power. The gardener is directed to mark and label every parcel, and arrange the whole conformably to a written catalogue. On arriving at a place where he proposes to sow, he must examine the temperature of the climate, and observe whether the native plants, particularly

particularly annuals, are in a state of growth, maturity, or decay. This will direct his choice of the proper seed, and aspect. The time of the year must be carefully attended to, as well as the nature of the soil. Let him try to engage the natives to assist in the labours of the field. Besides more regular culture, every time he walks abroad he ought to be provided with an assortment of seeds, to be scattered about occasionally where they are likely to spring. He must keep a regular journal of all his operations and their results, which will furnish points of comparison towards perfecting the art.

Particular directions are then given respecting the packing and carriage of growing plants, both by land and water.

## PART SECOND.

*Of the gathering of Vegetables that may be useful to Europe, and of their Preservation on the Voyage.*

The collection must consist of 1. Seeds : 2. Bulbs and fleshy roots of vivacious plants : 3. Slips of valuable trees, the seeds of which cannot be procured. Seeds to be gathered when a choice is to be had, and in a state of perfect maturity ; but in case of a short stay, they must be taken on the plant though immature, and all means employed to ripen them on the passage ; and every chance taken of procuring a precious vegetable to Europe. Attention must be paid to the manner of putting up even perfectly ripe seeds. Those which grow in husks, pods and capsules, must remain in their envelopes, and these tied up to prevent their opening ; the same care must be taken of cones, and in general of all dry fruits. Small seeds growing in ears, clusters, panicles, must be picked entire with stalks of five or six inches long, and all communication between the germ and the air prevented : they must be carefully cleared of all insects and their eggs. Samples of every species of plant,



plant, and its respective seed to be marked and numbered. Naked seeds of the size of a hazel-nut or upward, require a different preparation. They must be left exposed to a free air for some time, to sweat off the superfluous moisture, and perfect their maturity. When packed up they must be deposited in such parts of the ship as are least exposed to variations of the atmosphere, and equally secured against excessive dryness and humidity.

It cannot be doubted that the trees and plants which may be used as food are of the first importance, such as the fern whose root serves as aliment to the inhabitants of New Zealand: those useful in the arts will occupy the second place; such as are ornamental to our gardens, the third; and the fourth will comprehend those which are only proper for a botanical collection. The quantity gathered should be in proportion to the climate of the country. Where the temperature is analagous to that of Europe, there can be no risk in taking a great deal: in hotter climates less will serve, as the seeds need hot-beds and frames to raise them, only a few can be preserved; unless it were an object to propagate them in our East or West India settlements. Collect more in the last periods of the voyage than in the first. Forward, as opportunity presents, collections already made, with proper information.

Directions follow respecting the mode of packing and conveyance, and of culture during the voyage; and a list of necessaries to the gardener in the discharge of his office.

*A List of Seeds to be packed up for the Expedition.*

FIRST DIVISION.

Substances which need no preparation to become food.

FRUITS

## FRUITS OF TREES.

Seeds of apples, pears, grapes, gooseberries.  
 Stones of peaches, apricots, plums, cherries.  
 Almonds. Nuts.

## FRUITS OF HERBS.

Seeds of melons, of different kinds; artichokes,  
 white and violet; Guinea pepper.

## LEGUMINOUS PLANTS.

Seeds of celery of all varieties; chervil, cresses,  
 parsley, purslain, golden; forrel, lettuce, cabbage  
 and coos; small lettuce for cutting; wild succory.

## ROOTS.

Onions white and red, turneps of various sorts,  
 radishes, garlic, fhalot.

## SECOND DIVISION.

Substances that need no preparation, but roasting,  
 to become food.

## ROOTS.

Potatoes, carrots of all varieties, chiroui, parsnips,  
 falfify, Spanish and white; bect-root, red, white and  
 yellow.

## FARINACEOUS SEEDS.

Wheat of different species, maize of all varieties,  
 buck wheat, or black corn; Piedmontese rice, barley  
 of different sorts, oats of every variety, rye.

## THIRD DIVISION.

Productions not eatable till boiled, and therefore  
 proper only for nations provided with vessels fit for  
 this species of cookery.

Peas of all sorts, kidney-beans of all sorts, garden-  
 beans of every variety, lentiles, the large species;  
 chick-peas, white and red; lupines, vetches, white  
 and black; fenugreek, white-mustard, egg-plant,  
 cabbage,



# PRELIMINARY INSTRUCTIONS.

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cabbage, white and red ; pompion and mushroom, cucumber, gourd, calabash, orach, chard-beet, tobacco.

*Vegetables to be transported in their natural State.*

## FRUITING TREES AND SHRUBS.

Apple-tree, red calville, white, rennet, d'api ; English beurré pear-tree, bon chrétien, crassane, St. Germain ; vine, golden chasselas, muscadine, raisin de Corinthe ; peach, grosse mignonne ; nectarine, plum, reine-claude, mirabelle, large damascene of Tours ; apricot, common, peach ; fig, white angelique, violet ; cherry, Montmorenci, black-heart, white-heart ; olive, native ; Portugal quince, black mulberry, garden chestnut, walnut, thin-shelled ; almond, thin-shelled ; Maltese raspberry.

## LEGUMINOUS PLANTS.

Potatoes of every variety, Jerusalem artichoke, garlic, shalot.

West-India sweet-potatoe and yam to be taken in at the Cape de Verd islands, at the Cape of Good Hope, or in North America.

## SHRUBS FOR PLEASURE.

Rose, hundred-leaved ; lilach, tuberose.

## INVENTORY

*Of Goods and Merchandize to be given in Presents or Barter.*

These consist of all sorts of iron, copper and lead ware ; clothes, fishing-nets and hooks, mirrors, glass, crockery, trinkets, coins, jewellery, stuffs, woollen, linen, silk, tape, cordage, paper, &c. &c. to the amount of 58,365 livres. The articles contained in M. Thouin's inventory, 2,330 livres. Instruments

struments of astronomy, navigation, physics, &c. and books purchased in France, 17,034 livres. Articles purchased in England, about 6000 livres. Besides these, essence of spruce, malt, and other antiscorbutics, to the value of 30,000 livres. The total extraordinary expence for the expedition about 150,000 livres, 6250l. sterling, exclusive of the table of the scientific gentlemen and artists.

This is followed by a list of astronomical and other instruments for the use of the navigators, and a catalogue of books of voyages, of astronomy, navigation, physics, natural history, and others, and the preliminary matter concludes with a

## LIST OF THE NAMES

*Of the Officers, Scientific men, Artists, and Seamen, embarked on Board of the Frigates la Boussole and l'Astrolabe, July, 1785.*

## LA BOUSSOLE.

M. de la Pérouse, Post-captain, Commander in Chief, employed as *Chef de Division*, and made *Chef d'Escadre*, November 2d, 1786.

## LIEUTENANTS.

De Clonard, made Post.  
D'Escures.

## ENSIGNS.

Boutin, made lieutenant, May 1st, 1786, and Major, April 14th, 1788.

De Pierrevert.

Colinet, made sous-lieutenant de vaisseau, May 1st, 1786.

## MARINE GUARDS.

Mel de Saint Ceran, put ashore at Manilla, April 16th, 1787.

De Montarnal.

## VOLUNTEERS.



## VOLUNTEERS.

De Roux Darbaud, and Frederic Broudou, both promoted on the voyage.

## ENGINEERS, SCIENTIFIC MEN, AND ARTISTS.

De Monneron, Enginner in Chief.

Bernizet, Geographical Engineer.

Rollin, Surgeon-major.

Lepaute Dagelet, Professer of the Military School, Astronomer.

De Lamanon, Natural Philosopher, Mineralogist, Meteorologist.

L'Abbé Mongès, Naturalist, and Almoner.

Duché de Vancy, Draughtsman of Figures and Landscapes.

Prevost le Jeune, Botanical Draughtsman.

Colignon, Botanic Gardener.

Guery, Clockmaker.

|                  |   |   |   |   |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Warrant Officers | - | - | - | 9 |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|

|                       |   |   |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Gunners and Fusileers | - | - | - | 8 |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|

|                                       |  |  |  |    |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|----|
| Carpenters, Caulkers, and Sail-makers |  |  |  | 10 |
|---------------------------------------|--|--|--|----|

|                                |   |  |  |    |
|--------------------------------|---|--|--|----|
| Topmen, Steersmen, and Sailors | - |  |  | 38 |
|--------------------------------|---|--|--|----|

|                 |   |   |   |    |
|-----------------|---|---|---|----|
| Quarter Gunners | - | - | - | 12 |
|-----------------|---|---|---|----|

|                 |   |   |   |   |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|
| Supernumeraries | - | - | - | 9 |
|-----------------|---|---|---|---|

|           |   |   |   |   |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|
| Domestics | - | - | - | 7 |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|

|               |   |   |   |   |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|
| Supplementary | - | - | - | 7 |
|---------------|---|---|---|---|

## L'ASTROLABE.

M. de Langle, Commander.

De Monti, Lieutenant.

## ENSIGNS.

Freton de Vaujuas.

Daigrement.

De la Borde Marchainville.

Blondella.

VOL. I.

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MARINE

MARINE GUARDS.

De la Borde Boutervilliers.

Law de Lauriston.

Raxi de Flaffan.

SCIENTIFIC MEN AND ARTISTS.

Monge, Professor of the Military School, Astronomer.

De la Martiniere, Doctor of Medicine, Botanist.

Dufresne, Naturalist.

Le Pere Receveur, Naturalist and Almoner.

Prevost, Botanical Draughtsman.

Lavaux, Surgeon in Ordinary of the Navy.

Lesséps, Vice-consul of Russia, Interpreter; put ashore at Kamtschatka, and intrusted with M. de la Pérouse's dispatches to Paris.

|                                      |   |   |    |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|----|
| Warrant Officers                     | - | - | 8  |
| Gunners                              | - | - | 8  |
| Carpenters, Caulkers, and Sailmakers |   |   | 12 |
| Topmen, Steersmen, and Sailors       |   |   | 42 |
| Quarter Gunners                      | - | - | 11 |
| Supernumeraries                      | - | - | 9  |
| Domestics                            | - | - | 7  |
| Supplementaries                      | - | - | 11 |



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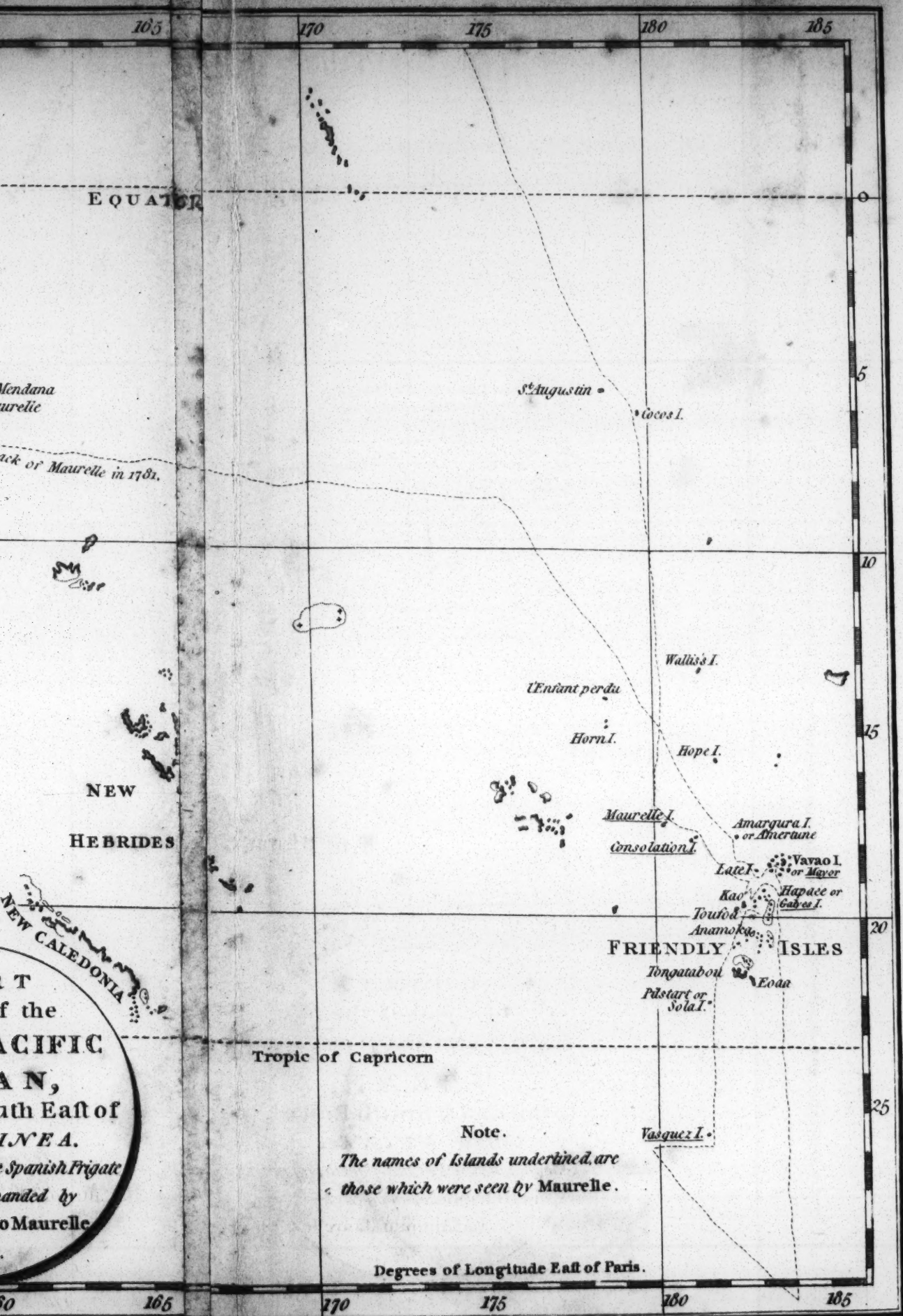
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ATIVE



London Published, August 27, 1798.





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NARRATIVE\*  
OF AN  
INTERESTING VOYAGE  
FROM  
*MANILLA TO SAINT BLAISE,†*  
In 1780 and 1781.

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**I**MMEDIATELY upon my arrival at Manilla, the commander of the frigate that carried me thither disembarked the maritime forces which he brought, stationed them at the port of Cavita‡ for its defence, and appointed me major of the troops: at the same time desiring that I would take a plan of the harbour and its environs. The object of this was to fix on the most advantageous situation for placing the force to oppose the descent of an enemy.

The governor fitted out the frigate *La Princesse* for an expedition which he thought to keep secret. When the frigate was ready to sail, I received orders, very unexpectedly, to take the command of it. The surprise which this unlooked-for appointment occasioned me, my entire ignorance as to the object of the expedition, the fear of seeing my mission thwarted by the necessity of some engagement, were to my

\* The Spanish originals of this narrative, and the following extract, were sent by *La Pérouse*; the translation is the work of A. G. Pingré, and the corresponding chart composed according to these accounts; and the ancient journals is by Buanche, member of the national institute.—*French Editor*.

† It is well known that Manilla, in the Island of Luconia, is the capital of the Philippine Isles. Saint-Blaise, or Saint-Blas, is a harbour on the western coast of Mexico.

‡ Cavita is three leagues from Manilla.

mind the source of a thousand anxieties: but the governor represented to me that this commission would do me as much the greater honour as the object was more interesting; that should the enemy think of seeking me, which he would not be backward in doing, the expertness and activity of my manœuvres would be a proof of my ability; and that, in short, the success of my expedition would be of material advantage to our Sovereign. These expressions were so powerful an incitement, that I considered myself particularly honoured by the governor's having chosen me for this expedition, in such critical circumstances. I accepted the command, and sailed the 24th of August, after receiving from government a sealed packet, containing instructions and orders for my observance, and the port whither I was desired first to repair. This packet I was not to open till twelve leagues distant from Cavita.

The 25th, being at the distance prescribed, I opened the packet. I was enjoined to make the port of Sifiran\*, there to wait the final orders of government, always keeping on the watch to repel the attacks of the enemy, who without doubt would endeavour to intercept me, should they come to blockade Manilla.

The winds fell, and becoming contrary, were against my getting clear of the isles. I in consequence bore up constantly on different tacks, making every possible effort to gain the weather gage; but I could not overcome the current, which forcibly put me back, running from the point of Escarsea†, which it was out of my power to double. I was then under the necessity of coming to anchor, at ten o'clock in

\* Sifiran is a harbour on the eastern coast of Luconia, almost directly opposite to Manilla, being but 16 min. more southerly than that city.

† This point, the port of Las Galeras, the Isles Tiaco, and St. Bernard, are situated in the channel or strait which divides Luconia from the other Philippine islands.



the morning, near this point opposite Galeras Bay, in 25 fathoms, and a sandy bottom.

At half past three on the morning of the 30th the wind changed to the west, but it was so violent that I drove from my anchors. I wanted to put to sea, but the current prevented me, and even drifted me towards the port. I was in ten fathoms water, and let go an anchor that was the sport of the current and winds, which freshened more and more, so that I soon found myself in only five fathoms water. I let go a second, and by the assistance of the sheet anchor, which I cast with great velocity, I got further from shore, from whence I was only about the ship's length distant; and though still detained within the point of Alagalican, which forms the port of Galeras, I could nevertheless get under way, but it was by leaving an anchor, sheet anchor, two cables, and a sheet cable fast in the rocks\*. At nine o'clock in the morning I doubled the point, and although the wind abated in getting to the third quarter †, I nevertheless, by a press of sail, succeeded in coming to anchor at eight o'clock in the evening of the 31st, under shelter of the Island of Tiaco, to quit it again on the morrow.

I again put to sea on the 1st September, and at four o'clock in the evening found myself a quarter of a league to the north of St. Bernard. Thence I shaped my course for passing between the Cantaduanes ‡ and Luconia: as this route must bring me to the narrowest passage between the breakers and this

\* I have much abridged this, as well because the detail would be useless and tiresome, as because there are some passages which I do not comprehend, either through my own want of knowledge, which however I do not believe, or through the fault of the copier, who may have mutilated the original.

† The Spaniards divide the horizon into four quarters: the first extending from north to east, the second from east to south, the third from south to west, and the fourth from west to north.

‡ This island is opposite to the most south-easterly part of Luconia; its southern point is almost parallel with Sifiran.

island, I at ten o'clock brought to, and found myself at day-break of the 2d, distant ten leagues from Canraduanes. I set every sail, and at half past eleven had reached its most north-western point, and passed at a very short distance from the last islots in the vicinity of that point. Thence I steered W. S. W., and to W., keeping close to the wind to gain Sifiran, which port I neared at six o'clock in the evening.

I stood off and on all night, and the following day, 3d, came to anchor at two o'clock in the afternoon, and moored the frigate in the best possible manner, in expectation of the last orders which were to be sent. As soon as I arrived I employed myself in exercising the men in every thing which might be of service for our defence, in case we should be attacked, and had it occurred, all were sufficiently accustomed to the use of arms. I also wrote to the governor, informing him of my arrival at Sifiran, and requesting his final orders.

Sifiran is situated in the vicinity of very high mountains, which render the air extremely damp. From thence likewise arise the continual hurricanes I experienced during my stay there. The perpetual damp occasioned diseases among my crew, of which I lost one sailor.

We were thirty or thirty-five leagues from the nearest inhabited parts; and to have a communication with them it were necessary to climb steep mountains, inhabited by savages, which rendered this communication extremely difficult. It was not, in consequence, without the greatest trouble that I succeeded in procuring some of the refreshments which I thought would be of service to us in the course of so long a campaign.

To replace the two cables and sheet cable I had lost, I requested the alcade, or commander of this province, to get me new ones made, which he did,

and



and sent them as soon as finished. I in like manner asked for some anchors, but there was not one to the best of his knowledge throughout his whole jurisdiction.

On the 10th November an officer came on board and put into my hands a great box, containing dispatches respecting his Majesty's service. The governor-general ordered me to send, with the utmost expedition, this box to his excellency the viceroy of New Spain, and to that effect, to make sail towards the port of St. Blaise, or Acapulco, as I should judge most expedient. I immediately got ready for my departure; but two successive tempests delayed me till the 21st.

To sail from the Philippines to New Spain, the vessel must leave in June, the westerly winds which then blow, carrying the ships to the east of the Marianne Islands: at any other time a successful voyage could not be hoped for. I therefore considered myself as on the eve of undertaking a voyage absolutely new, on tracks of sea, till then, almost unknown. Though a navigator might even have taken a course similar to mine, had he the same winds? Had he steered the same points? Had he gone through the same parallels or meridians? I might therefore conclude the course I took had never been before attempted by any navigator.

I had nothing more at heart than the faithful execution of the orders entrusted to me, and to render my expedition useful to his Majesty's service, and the welfare of his subjects. This sentiment animated me in surmounting my apprehensions with respect to the absolute ignorance I was in as to the course I was to take. My knowledge went no further than New Britain; and even in that run I might meet with an infinity of islands, of which not the least vestige was to be found on the marine charts.

M. de Bougainville, who sailed from the east of

New Guinea to the Cape of Good Hope in the same island, gives the position of only two small isles, which he called the Anchorêts, and a group of other flat insignificant isles, which he termed Mille Isles\* (Thousand Islands). He has doubtless placed them in their proper latitude: but besides these, not a day passed without discovering others on all sides, of which any one may easily be convinced by looking over my chart. The only choice left me, and which I took from the first moment of my expedition, was to employ the most scrupulous attention, and exercise the most unceasing vigilance during the whole course of our navigation, to acquit myself with honour of the commission with which I was charged in spite of the continual risks I had to encounter.

Though I had quitted a port from whence I could have been supplied with every thing necessary for so long a voyage, I at the same time was thereby spared much distress. My ship's crew were attacked by disease more or less acute: the provisions, precisely sufficient for six months, were for the most part fly-blown and putrified; the water, limited to seventy pipes and forty barrels, without regarding the waste, was a supply very insufficient for a voyage of such a length, and the cordage was such that it broke the first time it was used. I desired from the alcade some tar, of which we were absolutely in want, but there being none in the province, I supplied its place with pitch. Though all these reasons left me almost destitute of hope, my zeal for the King's service suffered no abatement; and I prepared myself to undergo all the calamities with which the nature of our provisions and the state of the rigging threatened me.

\* Bougainville did not give this group the name of Mille Isles, but l'Echiquier.



*Departure from Sisiran, on the eastern coast of Luconia, 14° 20' N. lat. 126° 34' west of St. Lucas, or Lucar, in California, 121° 20' east of Paris, 20' west of St. Bernard, in the Mouth of the Strait.*

I PUT to sea the 21st November with slight breezes at E. N. E. and by E., which soon becoming strong, and being directly contrary, I ran upon different tacks, to get to the north, and clear the Island of Cantuadanes. These winds carried me to latitude 16° 14', which I observed on the 30th. I then bore away to S. S. E., and again saw the island on the 3d December: its bearing was south east by a quarter south, distant five leagues. I concluded that the currents\* had thrown me back 2° 26' to the west, notwithstanding the correction I made in my N. N. W. course.

In this position, where I was detained by the winds, which prevented my steering S. E., I was assailed by a heavy mountainous sea, and extremely violent winds, which frequently obliged me to lay to under the fore sail, taking every possible method of getting to windward, to enable me to continue my voyage.

The 9th December, after running on different tacks, I found myself again in sight of the Cantuadanes, from whence I took my final departure, the southernmost point bearing W. N. W. 3° west, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues, which made me in 13° 24' lat and 122° 26' long. east of Paris, and 46' east of St. Bernard.

We then had tolerably fair fresh breezes from the third quarter, of which I took the advantage to run eastward till the 14th, when the winds veered E. N.

\* Besides the currents the lee-way had undoubled on the direction of the course; but it was apparently upon the calculation of this lee-way that the course had been corrected.

E. E.

E: E. and E. S. E. This change obliged me to keep two points nearer the south. The 18th, according to one of the charts on which I had laid down my course, I must have been west of the Martyr Island at seven leagues distance; and between the 20th and 21st came upon that called the Triangle: but by another chart, I was on the 19th near the Yap Island, or Great Caroline, and on the 20th, off the Pelew Islands, without having observed either of them: but there could be no other cause for the short and billowy sea which we had, than the proximity of the Carolines or New Philippine Islands, agreeable to their situation on the French chart.

On the 29th, crossing the line, I entered the southern hemisphere. The winds then came from the third and fourth quarter, sufficiently fresh, but interrupted by frequent calms, which much incommoded us, owing to the excessive heat which they occasioned. I then steered in the second and first quarter, next to the east, not however losing sight of my design to bear up rather to the south, and fall in with the westerly winds, which must predominate in the higher latitudes. Steering this course we remarked many large trunks of trees, birds of different kinds, boobies and others called dominicos. In this same course I proposed taking an observation of the Mille Isles, the most northerly and easterly of which Bougainville places in his chart at  $1^{\circ} 10'$  south, and ———\* east of Paris. I accordingly met with them on the 7th January; they extended from the 38th degree of the second quarter to the 9th of the third†. The latitude of the most north-easterly one was precisely as laid down on the chart, but its longitude

\* The longitude is wanting in the M. S. It is  $139^{\circ}$  deg. 30 min. by Bougainville's chart. As to the rest the Mille Isles are clearly the same as his Exchiquier.

† Their extent must then have been from the east  $38^{\circ}$  deg. south, to south  $9^{\circ}$  deg. west.

according



according to me  $141^{\circ} 12'$  east of Paris. I determined on coasting these islands as near as possible, and took an infinity of their bearings which, together with the way the frigate made, enabled me to determine, with the utmost precision, the position of twenty-nine of these islands that we have discovered. There are undoubtedly many others in the southern part, of which we could not take account. It is impossible to describe, on the chart, the extent of each, when scarce any in the longest part is one league. They are all flat, and covered with trees; some are surrounded by reefs which join them to the neighbouring islands. On these reefs the sea breaks, but the breakers are only perceptible at a short distance. I continued to near these islands, so that I passed the most northerly at the distance only of two miles. At seven o'clock in the evening I descried many fires on the most eastern ones, and could not but be very much surprised at seeing such small portions of land inhabited.

Quitting these islands, I steered to east, a quarter north-east; and on the 8th discovered to the south, three degrees east, distant five or six leagues, two islets, which I named the Hermits; and in the evening of the same day saw the Anchorets at the north and west, distant five miles: I found them precisely in the latitude given by Bougainville. We at the same moment descried two small islets to the east: I passed to the south of them at midnight, at a league distant; I called them the Monks.

Thence I bore away for the north coast of New Britain: but on the 10th, scarce had the day broke when I discovered other islands to the S. S. E.\* This and the following day I ran the length of the most westerly, at a reasonable distance. I took every pos-

\* It is in the M. S. sudoeffe: it should undoubtedly be read sudeste, or sud-sueste, south-east, or south-south-east; all that follows proves that this island could not be west of the frigate.

fible method by means of bearings to make myself acquainted with its true situation, and am sure that its northern coast is eleven leagues long, and without doubt proportionably wide: far beyond the plains, which extend to the sea side, are seen many high mountains. The chart gives its perspective. Beyond this are four other flat islands, covered with trees, the coasts of which, rising in succession, are bold and free from reefs, and I doubt not in the channels which separate them is good anchorage, where ships may be sufficiently sheltered from the wind and sea.

The inhabitants of these islands, seeing me on the 11th two miles distant from their most eastern point, came near in their canoes to the number of twelve, besides many others which did not put to sea. Curious to know the character of these islanders, I lay to: they came along side, but would not venture on board: they earnestly requested some food, and pressed us to come to anchor between the isles. We threw them some cocoa nuts, and pieces of biscuit, which they scrambled for with great eagerness, and almost fought to obtain; but when they saw at the poop a net containing some garden stuff, they used their utmost efforts to reach it with long wooden hatchets. All this was a convincing proof of the dreadful state in which they lived; and so far from hoping for any refreshment from them, I saw they wanted it themselves more than me. I was therefore from necessity constrained to leave them in their miserable state. I saw no difference between them and the negroes of Guinea; colour, hair, lips, eyes, every part seemed to correspond. The only arms of these people were arrows, but without bows to shoot with. The points were armed with very clumsy flints; they had also some fishing nets, which undoubtedly furnished them with their principal article of subsistence.

Pursuing my track, on leaving this island, to which I gave



I gave the name of Don Joseph Basco, I discovered in the evening of the same day six others, and named the most westerly of the two nearest the south, St. Michael, and the most easterly, Jesus Maria. Their coasts are more extensive than I should have conceived from the bearings I had an opportunity of taking; for the mountains are very high, and the distance I was at did not permit me to overlook the whole extent of the coasts.

I at the same time coasted along two other islands at a distance of two miles. The most westerly I called St. Gabriel, and the most easterly St. Raphaël: between these and the two preceding ones were two very small islands, that of the north was called Flat, or Low Island, and the south Oven Island. Thence standing as before to the east, I found I was at midnight to the north of three islands, which I named the Three Kings.

On the 12th I left a very small islet at the 38th degree of the third quarter, (S.  $38^{\circ}$  W.) at six leagues distance.

At half past one in the afternoon of the same day we descried at N. E.  $3^{\circ}$  E. another island eight or nine leagues off. It presented to our view a very high mountain; and suspecting it to be Isle Matthias, which the French chart places north of New Britain, I steered E. N. E. to get nearer to it, and convince myself of its situation. At six o'clock in the evening the bearing of the mountain was at the 22d degree of the first quarter, (N.  $22^{\circ}$  E.) at the distance of six or seven leagues; and its situation, determined by our bearings, did not leave a doubt of its being Matthias Island.

I continued the same course to find out Stormy Island, placed on the French chart more to the east. This island certainly has its proper name. We incessantly, during the whole night, experienced strong gusts of wind, and a high sea. Nevertheless, on the 13th,

13th, notwithstanding the fogs and frequent showers which began with the break of day, we discovered at the north-west by north, at seven leagues distance, another which seemed smaller than Stormy Island, as represented on the chart; but its distance, and the circumstance of the horizon being far from clear, might have made it appear less than it in fact was. I at last judged this either to be Stormy Island, or a little one very near it.

As, according to my observations, I found the southern point of Matthias Island to be in latitude  $1^{\circ} 23'$ , and the French chart places it  $2^{\circ} 10'$ , I thought it better to give this last up, and I placed this island on my chart in the latitude I concluded it to be in from the observations I made at noon, and which I believe to be very exact\*. I have corrected the latitude of Stormy Island in the same proportion. The position of these two islands, so close one to the other, are doubtless subject to the same error.

On a comparison of my longitude, reckoned from Matthias Island  $144^{\circ} 20'$  east of Paris, with that of  $145^{\circ} 35'$ , which is assigned it on the chart†, I found my point, according to the chart, was erroneous by  $1^{\circ} 15'$  towards the west. Supposing the discoverers of this island to have accurately ascertained its distance by the Cape of Good Hope of New Guinea‡, I corrected the longitude of  $143^{\circ} 39'$  east of Paris, which I obtained at noon for that of  $144^{\circ} 54'$  which was the result of the longitude of Matthias Island.

\* The latitude of the southern point of Matthias Island is 1 deg. 38 min. in Bougainville's chart.

† The longitude of the same point is on the same chart 145 deg. 10 min. Stormy Island is there represented double: the middle of the most eastern island is there 1 deg. 45 min. lat. and 145 deg. 37 min. long. Bougainville saw, but took no observation of these islands.

‡ Modern navigators would rather regulate the distance of this island by Cape St. George, whose geographical situation is better determined than that of the Cape of Good Hope of New Guinea.

I dis-



I distributed this well-timed correction over the position of the islands I before discovered. I therefore fixed my new point of departure in long.  $144^{\circ} 54'$ .

The same day, 13th January, I came in sight of an extensive coast; the second and third quarter of the horizon (throughout the whole of the south) was loaded with clouds, thick fogs, and tornadoes. If the weather became fine, it soon changed again, so that it was impossible for me to determine what land I saw. I believe it to be, however, the coast of New Britain, as well because, the following days, we continued to discover portions of land, which could only belong to a large island, or continent, as because that in coasting these shores we distinguished very high mountains, such as are rarely seen in small islands.

In the afternoon of the 14th we saw a high mountain in the south-west, and a coast of great extent from east to west. There was no doubt of its being a coast of New Britain. I could not exactly ascertain its bearing, being twelve leagues distant. I at the same time passed near three other isles, which bore from me S. by S. W., to the most northerly of which I gave the name of St. Francis; it was two leagues and a half off; the middle one I called St. Joseph, and the third St. Anthony: the latter was distant seven leagues and a half. After passing them, we at midnight saw a little island at  $10^{\circ}$  of the second quarter (E.  $10^{\circ}$  S.) which I named St. Peter.

We saw two islands on the 15th; at noon they bore S. E.  $8^{\circ}$  S. at the distance of ten leagues. The most western was termed St. Laurent: the most eastern St. Blaise.

From the 15th to the 17th the winds were light and changeable from the first to the fourth quarter: on the 17th a small island came in view, to which I gave the appellation of St. Hyacinth; its bearing

58° of the third quarter, or W. 32° S. distant ten leagues.

On the 18th we discovered, eight miles off, three other islands, one of which runs from north to south; the most westerly was named St. Rose, the large one Refuge Island; and the small one, very near the foregoing, Madalene. The same day we saw, to the south-west of Refuge Island, a coast covered with very high mountains. I supposed myself twelve leagues from its shore, in the direction of 65° of the first and third quarter (N. 65° E. and S. 65° W.). This was the only assistance I had in determining the position of this island.

I at first doubted whether this land were not part of New Britain: but was afterwards convinced of its being the island of St. John, represented on the French chart as a large island, and situated in the parallel where I observed it\*; the more so, as we had seen numberless little islands since that of Matthias, none of which could be taken for the island of St. John.

The 19th at sun rise we saw two very low islands, both of which run from N. W. to S. W. at six leagues distance: they were separated on a narrow strait, open on the S. W., which we named Les Caïmans.

At sun-set we came in sight of two islands towards the south; the most northerly, which was very small, had the name of St. Anne, the other St. Barbe; by my bearings the length of the coast of the latter was seven miles.

\* I should like to know by what French chart our navigator steered. The Island of St. John is placed, according to a chart of Fleurieu, in 3 deg. 45 min. lat. 150 deg. 32 min. east of Paris: but by Carteret's Voyage, (French edition, 4to.) the chart of which is on a larger scale, the latitude is 4 deg. 19 min. long. 153 deg. 3 min. east of Greenwich, 150 deg. 43 min. east of Paris. Carteret observed this island. The author of the *Discoveries of the French*, page 300, (English edition, printed for Stockdal) is decidedly for 4 deg. lat. and 151 deg. 30½ min. east of Paris.

At



At day-break the center of a large island, which I named Don Manuel Flores, bore S.  $5^{\circ}$  W. at the distance of 13 leagues; upon it was observed a pretty high mountain, and its coast appeared to run from E. S. E. to W. N. W. for the space of six leagues.

At eight o'clock in the morning we got sight of nine islots, which I did not doubt of being the Ontong Java of the French chart. The latitude of these islands is precisely the same as those which is assigned to the center of Ontong Java on the chart. I steered directly for them to get as near as possible, and observed that they were surrounded by a sand-bank which cannot be seen till within two miles of the coast. Near the edges of this bank we saw, above the water, at short distances, some small rocks a very little way from the sand-bank itself.

The bank leaves a narrow opening on the south coast, opposite to which the latitude was by observation  $4^{\circ} 53'$ ; we were but two cables' length from this mouth, which leads to a gulph where the sea is perfectly still, and where is a secure harbour, if necessary to put in for wood or water. This gulph is sheltered on the north by the islots: we gave it the name of Princess's Harbour. On the chart we have given a very correct plan of this port, passing it near enough to be answerable for the accuracy of the draft\*.

From

\* Ontong Java, (or Jaba, which is all one to the Spaniards) was discovered they say in 1616 by Maire and Schouten. They enumerated twelve or thirteen islands, but did not observe them any thing like so near as our navigator. At a distance they could not have seen some very low slips of land, which connected two parts of one island, and thus they described one island as two. In 1767 Carteret discovered, in the same latitude, nine islands which he conceived to be the Ontong Java of Schouten. These isles extended from the N. W. a quarter W. to the S. E. a quarter E. for the space of about fifteen leagues, one of which is very extensive; whereas Ontong Java does not extend three leagues, and all the islands of which it is composed are very small. Notwithstanding this,

From these islots, which are not above a mile from each other, issued out about sixty canoes which approached us within a short gun-shot; but the wind being favourable, I did not think it worth while to wait for them, but stood on always in the same course. They returned to their islots, on which it appeared to me impossible for human creatures to subsist. We saw there a tolerable number of palm-trees, which no doubt bore fruit, and by this and the help of fish, these islanders drag on their miserable life.

After leaving Ontong Java I continued my way with gentle pleasant winds during the day, but stormy in the night, which obliged me to keep a strict look out for whatever might offer itself to our view, and recommended a similar vigilance to all the ship's company. They at once saw the risks we had to encounter; consequently no sooner was an object descried in the horizon, than I was informed of it; the island observed, and the danger avoided.

I sailed the 22d without seeing any land, but the night being dark we heard at ten o'clock a dreadful roaring in the N. E. and saw wide of the ship's quarter, at an inconsiderable distance, the sea all white with foam. I was obliged to bear away to the S. W. until the noise of this shoal, which I called the Snorer\*, were no longer heard. I then stood again to the east as before.

If the many accidents which occurred during my voyage be taken into consideration, the constancy I invariably showed in my aim at two objects of equal moment, yet directly opposite one to the other, may be easily conceived. My commission required the ut-

this, we shall endeavour to prove that the nine islands of our navigator, as well as those of Carteret, Maire and Schouten, are one and the same groupe, distinct from the Ontong Java of Tasman.

\* Fleurieu takes this Snorer (Le Ronfleur) to be the same rock as the Candlemas Shoals of Medana, which is not improbable.

most



most celerity, and consequently obliged me to press every sail without a moment's loss of time. On the other hand the tornadoes under the line only took place during the night; the winds then freshening considerably, rendered the air dark and gloomy, emitting thunder and lightning. During the day there was almost a perfect calm, and I could therefore take advantage of the night alone to get forward. At one time I fell in with land during the day, at another during the night. Prudence undoubtedly required me not to expose myself to dangers which might in an instant put an end to the very aim of the voyage; but I might thereby have experienced a delay which had been prejudicial to my commission. I therefore supplied the defect of tardy prudence by the most active vigilance in looking out for every obstacle that might present itself, and profiting by every favourable breeze.

For the remainder of January the winds were light, and blew between N. N. W. and N. E.; obliging me either to pursue my course easterly, or in the second quarter next to it. I therefore encreased my southern latitude, without having it in my power to bear up to the north, the wind constantly blowing from the first quarter, except a few puffs which came from the fourth and second quarter, and of which I took advantage by nearing the line: but the calms were so frequent, that the longest way I made in twenty-four hours was but 70 miles.

From the commencement of February the calms were yet more constant: from the 6th to the 17th our longest run being 40 miles, and commonly only from 12 to 15. I in vain endeavoured to pass to the north of the line, in hopes of doubling the western shoals of St. Bartholomew\*: light airs from the N. N. W. and N. N. E. obliged me to steer in the

\* This I guessed at, as the M. S. gives no intelligible meaning: I think my guess is tolerably right.

fourth quarter to a point so near west, that I lost the longitude I gained in the east at the expence of such multiplied hazards. These reasons induced me again to keep my way in the first quarter, in hopes that the easterly winds would soon facilitate my getting northward of the line.

As my voyage was lengthing, I took the precaution from the 20th January of lessening the ordinary ration of bread, two ounces per man, besides an ounce less in the pound, which I took off the moment we embarked: but on the 16th February, seeing that time did not ameliorate our condition, and considering that we were at first only victualled for six months, that the 70 pipes and 40 barrels of water put on board were not near sufficient for that space of time only; that where I then was, in S. lat.  $3^{\circ} 32'$  and long. E. from Paris  $174^{\circ} 8'$ , with scarcely provisions left for three months, and a very insufficient quantity of water, I concluded that necessity required the diminution of a ration more, which I ordered from that day, reducing it to two thirds.

Our distress was infinitely increased by the innumerable quantity of cockroaches\* which infested our ship. The biscuit was much lighter than when first put on board; but what discouraged me most was the state of our water casks, which we not only found empty, but frequently unserviceable, the cockroaches having perforated the staves by holes as big round as two fingers.

After most seriously reflecting on all these circumstances, I conceived that it was not possible for me to continue my course north of the line, without putting into some island to replace the water I had

\* Cancrelas, or Kakerlaque, is a coleopterous insect like a cock-chaffer, but larger and much flatter; it soils and devours every thing. It is said to be called ravet at the Antilles; the cockroaches of the Isle of France seemed to me much larger than the ravet of St. Domingo, but they are equally tormenting.



lost. I could not flatter myself that I should reach the Marianne islands in time. The result of my reflections was the resolution of standing for Solomon's Islands, which I was then 107 leagues westward of; hoping the winds, which blew from the North, would not prevent this, and from thence I might with greater security and speed reach the Presidio of Monterey.

I therefore made fail for Solomon's islands; but the winds blowing uninterruptedly from the first quarter next the North, obliged me to drive insensibly to the South. The 20th February, I found myself 17 leagues west of the Cape of Santa Cruz or Guadalcanar. We then began to meet with breezes from E.N.E. and E.; which made me lose all hopes of putting into, or even getting sight of Solomon's islands. Finding myself therefore in  $12^{\circ}$  S. lat. I was compelled to take the resolution of getting into the southern hemisphere, confident that I should fall in with some islands where I could remedy the extreme dearth to which I was reduced; at the same time not without the hope, after having traversed 20 or 22 degrees of latitude, of meeting with winds favourable for carrying us eastward, which I could not promise myself in navigating in the north, unless by pushing on to 44 or 46 degrees, and keeping close to the wind, which would have been an infinite loss of time; and even in adopting this course, I must still have put in to the Mariannes.

After these and other reflections which never ceased to torment me, I resolved to steer in the second quarter (between East and South) pursuing that course while the easterly winds would permit. On the 26th I saw a small island, which I immediately stood for, hoping to cast anchor and take in water there. The crew leaped for joy, thinking that this island would put an end to all their wants; their joy equalled their distress, but not for long: when with-

in two miles of the island, we clearly saw, that so far from any anchorage, not even a boat could get ashore. It was absolutely barren; on its mountain, which was by no means small, there was not a single tree to be seen. This was named Bitter Island.

On the 27th we discovered an island directly ahead, on which was a very high mountain, its summit apparently burnt, but the declivity, covered with trees, displayed an agreeable verdure. We plainly distinguished many cocoa-nut trees, which strengthened my desire to bring to; but the lightness of the breeze would not suffer me to get nearer than about a league from its west side, from whence came many canoes with cocoa-nuts and bananas, and exchanges immediately commenced. The Indians came on board with the most perfect confidence; he who commanded them manifesting the most tender friendship, dancing on the deck, and singing several songs. Among other presents, he gave us a large kind of counterpane, like blotting-paper, but composed of two or three sorts of sheets interwoven with each other, to give more strength to the texture. I returned his civility, and he retired well satisfied. He told me that this island, of which he was the chief, was called Latte, fertile in different sorts of fruit, with soft water in abundance, and that I should find good anchorage. This news was very satisfactory, but, for my own part, I could discover no place where I could be securely sheltered.

In stretching round the island to look for a good anchoring place, we saw at E. N. E. about 12 leagues off, other islands not so high, but of greater extent, with several channels between them; the wind faint but favourable for our approach. The perspective of these islands promising abundant relief, I bore up for them.

The calms and light contrary airs, which I experienced on the 1st of March, was of many days duration,



duration, but on the 4th, after several tacks, I ran into an opening, formed by these islands, at N. W. and came to anchor in 45 fathoms, at a short distance from land, whence we saw within the gulph, houses, abundant plantations of banana and cocoa-trees, very satisfactory appearances as to water, which last was nearest our hearts; and in short, in the interior of this groupe of islands, many harbours, where vessels might lay in safety from the rage of the winds and sea: so that we were thoroughly persuaded of our misery being at an end.

In the evening of the same day, we drew up the anchor, and as the depth of water considerably increased, I gained the offing by shifting the anchor to the water's edge (or between wind and water) so that it would be ready to let go again. As soon as it was weighed, I again tacked towards the port, and the 5th at day-break, anchored in 38 vares (about 23 fathoms\*) bottom of sand and stone, two cables' length from the shore, in a creek where, the evening before, I had seen the houses.

Every day which I lost in getting near these islands, from fifty to a hundred canoes came along side, bringing pigs, fowls, bananas, and potatoes, which had something of the flavour of custard; some of these potatoes were five vares long,† and in thickness about the size of a lusty man's thigh; the least weighed three pounds. They offered us, likewise, a kind of cloth woven from the bark of the palm-tree, others of a finer make, and lastly, some of the cloaks or counterpanes, resembling blotting-paper, of which I have already spoken; the counterpanes, particularly, they held in high estimation. All the commerce was carried on over the ship's stern. The islanders wanted

\* I think it should be 38 fathoms.

† The Spanish word *popa* or *papa*, signifies a kind of *panada*, made with milk, with which infants are fed. It seems very justifiable to suspect exaggeration in the length of the potatoes.

in change for their fruit and produce of their manufactures, hatchets, adzes, and other cutting instruments; but I forbade, under the severest penalties, that any should be given, and I believe I was obeyed. They were, therefore, obliged to content themselves with bits of cloth or stuff. My crew cut their shirts, jackets, and trowsers into pieces, and with these bandages procured pigs, and other refreshments. On account of these provisions, I suspended the allowance of meat, and reduced that of the bread to one half.

The Indians who came on board pressed me to go into the interior of their archipelago; each pointed out his island, assuring me I should there find water and every thing else I wanted: the equis or captains shewed me the greatest friendship as they arrived, and I endeavoured not to be in their debt. Many sat down at the table with me, though they only partook of their own fruits. I imagined that these islanders were divided into many casts or tribes, from the number of their equis; but, on the other hand, I observed among the whole the greatest harmony.

We were likewise visited by women, whose countenances were by no means disagreeable; their clothing consisted in a kind of petticoat, which reached from the waist to the feet; the men were dressed the same. I admired the fine bulk of the latter; some of them whom I measured being six feet four inches high, and large in proportion, and these by no means the tallest. It is certain that the shortest of those I saw, equalled the tallest and stoutest of my ship's company. These islanders are in general tall and robust

We no sooner cast anchor than I received a present of fruits sent by the Tubou; the messenger being, as I was told, his son. This name of Tubou, which the equis repeated with a particular tone of affection—what can it signify? I then thought that



it denoted apparently the equi of the island, near which we were, who must hold some pre-eminence over the others, on account of their respectful manner of treating him. Whatever it might be, I received his son in the best possible manner, from the wish to conciliate his friendship, that we might meet with no impediments in our operations, when we went to take in water, and that he might, on the contrary, favour us with all his authority.

From eight in the morning the frigate was surrounded by a hundred canoes: the cries of those who manned them and bartered around the ship, were so shrill, that it was not possible to hear each other on board. Nevertheless, this same hour they informed us that the Tubou was coming to pay us a visit, who no sooner approached, than all the canoes which were on our starboard side dispersed. I received the Tubou with every possible mark of respect. His age and enormous size had deprived him of the agility necessary for getting on the deck; so that his equis, whom till then I had considered as little kings, were under the necessity of supporting him on their shoulders, while he mounted the ladder. He was followed by his wife, who surpassed in beauty all the other females I had seen on this island; and I could almost at once have sworn that she was daughter of some European, so striking were the graces I remarked in her; and not being at most in her twenty-fifth year, youth still added to her charms. They both took their seats on the watch-bench, and all the others profoundly prostrating themselves, kissed the feet of the Tubou. He brought me as a present a canoa\* load of potatoes. In return, I decorated both of them with a scarf of flame-coloured silk, from the neck to the waist, to which I suspended by a flesh-coloured ribband, two large plaques stamped

\* The Spanish term canoa, means boat; but the boats of the South Sea were probably only canoes.

with

with the resemblance of our august sovereign. I at the same time distributed several reals\* with the same stamp, to be at a future period incontrovertible proofs of our having put in here. The subordination of the equis towards the Tubou was such, that none of them dared to be seated in his presence: even his son, who before his arrival affected a majestic gravity, was now as respectful as the others. I can say with truth, that the Tubou scarcely honoured them with one or two words. I conducted them to the state cabin; they were struck with admiration at the sight of the equipment of the frigate and other things which I shewed them. In short, quite satisfied with the reception they had met with; they retired, after giving me unequivocal assurances of their most sincere friendship, and a thousand embraces, with which the good old man instantly overwhelmed me.

To avoid the excesses which the crew often give themselves up to when they go ashore, I published an order, threatening with severe penalties, any one that should disturb those islanders, under whatever pretence.

I desired my men, notwithstanding, to keep themselves at all events on their guard; and to give the Indians an idea of the power of our arms, I ordered a few guns to be fired against the rocks; the noise produced by the bullets and case-shot inspired them with the greatest fear, and they intreated that I would not repeat it. This discharge in the presence of twelve or fifteen hundred persons produced the desired effect, inspiring them with the dread of our arms, which I hoped in the sequel they would not put me under the necessity of employing against them.

On the 6th I chose from among my complement,

\* The piastre contains 20 reals; the real is worth a trifle more than two pence half-penny of our money.



fifteen men, well armed with muskets, pistols, swords and cartridge, and embarked with them in the boat, which carried four swivels; we landed on the beach, which I found covered with men and women, whom I made disperse, and brought up my force, in order, under arms, at about ten vares \* from the boat; the swivels were pointed against the crowd of Indians, in case we should perceive any hostile movement.

The Tubou's son offered to conduct one of my men to a running stream of water; but after having walked for half an hour and ascended a small hill, he said they were still at some distance from it; the person I sent thought proper to come back to the beach, where I waited his return. I had, however, sunk a well on the beach, which, when on a level with the sea, gave water though not fit to drink. I caused another to be dug twenty vares from the beach, wishing to avoid the necessity of weighing anchor, and taking the frigate more within the archipelago, where they gave me the most positive assurance of finding water. To do that I must give up many days, and I did not like to lose time.

On the 7th, I was in my boat, with a detachment well armed, and an Indian accompanied me to one of the places where they told me I might be sure of water; but this water was too far from the ship. After filling a few barrels I returned, with the resolution of continuing the well I had begun. I went on shore the same day, always taking like precautions; the work of the well advanced, which I left in such a state as to be able to afford us water on the morrow.

The Tubou or king, came to pay me a visit in great pomp; the equis were ranged in two files, with venerable old men at each extremity; walking

\* The vare is equal to about three feet.

before the king. The Tubou, as a proof of his tender friendship, caressed and embraced me a hundred times. His retinue sat down, making a large circle, in the same order which it arrived in. Two carpets made of palm were brought; the king sat down on one, and made his son be seated on the other, at his right hand. The whole kept a profound silence; those only near the king and whose great age certainly made the most respectable, faithfully repeating all his words. Some roots were soon brought, with which they made a drink in a kind of troughs. By the faces of those who drank it must be very bitter. This refreshment was served up in vessels made of banana-leaves. Three or four young Indians presented it to the Tubou and me first. The islander nearest the Tubou pointed out those who were to drink; the others were not offered any. Roasted potatoes and perfectly ripe bananas were afterwards put before me, of which I eat. Soon after two canoes appeared full of the same kind of provision, to be divided among my soldiers. This refreshment over, the Tubou returned home: I returned the visit, appointing the first pilot to command in my place, with orders to let nobody approach under any pretext whatever. The Tubou received me in the best possible manner; the queen soon appeared, preceded by eight or ten young girls, from sixteen to eighteen years of age, all of whom waited upon her; some drove away the flies which might incommode her, on the others she leaned. She was wrapped up in many cloaks which made her look extremely fat. She receiving us with a smiling countenance, graciously repeating the word liley, liley, liley, which signifies very well or welcome. After the first visit, I made but few others, lest the Tubou should strip himself of all his clothes to put on me, which is considered as a signal mark of favour. The king gave me two great  
dorados



doradoes \* and one of his weapons, which was nothing but a stick of acana † painted of different colours. I returned on board, hoping to get water on the morrow.

Our well being completed, in the evening of the 8th, we began to draw water, to the great astonishment of the Indians; but it was so bad that we were compelled to give up this method of getting a supply. I this day made a second visit to the King and Queen, who never missed sending, every evening, a great quantity of roasted potatoes, undoubtedly from a recollection of the large number I had to feed. As soon as I was assured of the unhealthiness of the water near the sea, without hopes of finding any but at a great distance from the bank, owing to the proximity of the mountain, I weighed anchor and brought to in another bay, at a league and a half or two leagues distance. On weighing one of the anchors, the cable, which was in use for the first time, absolutely failed, all the strands of which it was composed having broken; the whole length of the cable was entirely rotten and unserviceable. I tried to fish up the anchor but in vain, not being able to stay long, and the depth of water giving me but little hopes of meeting with it easily.

The new bay was perfectly protected both against the wind and sea, which I some days after experienced, the weather being extremely violent out at sea, with a wind from the N. and N. W. and I perceiving no other effect from it than a gust now and then, which came from that direction. I was at anchor in 32 fathoms in a bottom of sand and stone; some hills, which formed the harbour on the north side, completely sheltered us; the bottom all around us was rock.

\* Dos dorados. The Spanish word dorado, taken adjectively, signifies gilt, substantively, I know no other meaning than dorado, a well-known fish.

† I am ignorant of this kind of wood.

On the 9th, we began taking in water, at only five vares distance from the beach. The work went on faster than I wanted it, the equis having commanded their Indians to roll our casks, but when the Tubou came no one besides himself dared to give any more orders.

The 10th, 11th, and 12th, we got as much water as we chose to put on board; an innumerable quantity of canoes came however to barter, and their confidence in us was such, that many passed the night and slept on board.

During this time, the king invited me to a feast, which he designed preparing for that purpose. When I went ashore on the 12th, I saw in the thick wood near the port a vast circular space, which had been cleared with such care, that not the least vestige of what it had been, remained. A little after, the Indians went two by two to the Tubou's house with long poles on their shoulders, from which were suspended many potatoes, bananas, cocoa-nuts, and fish. These, by the direction of the Tubou, were taken to the newly cleared camp, where they were piled, in a cubical form, to the height of two vares. The equis and venerable old men came to conduct the Tubou, who took me by the hand, and we repaired to the vast circle, where upwards of 2000 Indians waited our coming. We took our seats on the carpets of palm prepared for that purpose, as did all the people, always keeping each cast or family distinct, as they never mix with each other.

The king then made me an offer of all the fruits, and had them taken to my boat, which they completely filled. The porters being returned to their respective posts, a profound silence was observed, while the king spoke; those who had the right, from their age and dignity, of sitting near him, repeating all his words. Not knowing to what this tended, I ordered those of my soldiers, whom I had left



in command of the first pilot, to hold themselves in readiness to fire both with their muskets and pistols, should they perceive any hostile movement. A strong robust young man now stepped forward from the ranks, the right hand placed on his breast, and striking his elbow with his left, making many gambols round the place opposite the groupe of different tribes to himself. One of another tribe then stepping out with the same gestures, they began to wrestle, laying body to body, closing with, and repelling each other with such animosity, that their veins and nerves swelled and extended prodigiously. At last one of them fell with such violence, that I thought he would never rise again; he nevertheless got up all covered with dust, and retired without daring to turn aside his head. The conqueror presented himself to do homage before the king; while those of his tribe sang, but whether in praise of the conqueror, or contempt of the vanquished, I cannot say.

These wrestling combats lasted two hours; one of the combatants had an arm broken, and I saw others receive terrible blows. While this wrestling lasted, other champions with their hands and wrists bound with thick cords, which served instead of gauntlets, presented themselves. This kind of combat was far more dreadful than the wrestling, the combatants, from the commencement, striking at the forehead, eyes, cheeks, and all parts of the face, while those who received the blows became more impetuous and ardent. Some were felled to the ground by the first blow. The assembly regarded these combats with a certain degree of respect, and all were not indiscriminately admitted to them.

Some women, particularly those who attended on the Queen, assisted at this fête, and I found them quite otherwise than what they had hitherto appeared to be. I had not judged of them unfavourably, but on  
this

this day they were clothed in their best attire, with their mantles well plaited and tied up in a knot on the left side, chaplets of large glass beads round their necks, the hair carefully dressed, the body washed and perfumed with sweet-scented oil, and so clean a skin, that they would not have suffered the smallest particle of sand to remain on it; they completely fixed my attention, appearing more beautiful than ever.

The King ordered the women to fight with their fists like the men, which they did with such fury, that had they not been separated now and then, they would not have had a tooth left. The spectacle touching me to the soul, I intreated the King to conclude the combat, which he did; and all applauded the compassion I had for these young females.

The Toubou, after this desiring an old woman, who carried a tin bottle at her neck, to sing, which she did for half an hour without ceasing, at the same time with such accompanying gestures and action, as might have led us to take her for an actress declaiming on the stage.

The entertainment at length concluded, and we returned with the King to his house, where I found the Queen, who received me with her customary marks of regard: I asked her why she was not present at the feast, to which she answered, that those sorts of combats were by no means agreeable to her.

The bands of friendship were so closely tied between us, that the Tubou called me his hoxa or son. I took leave of the Queen and him, and returned to embark. The beach was entirely covered with the natives, who loaded my people with a thousand caresses for having condescended to assist at the feast. The conquerors even took me on their shoulders and carried me to the boat. The Tubou, who from his house saw this crowd, and knew how much I suffered when the Indians mixed with my men, ordered

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† I he  
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dered his captains to pursue them, and he himself went into such a passion, that he ran out with a great stick, striking such as came within his reach. All saved themselves in the woods but two, worse mauled than the rest, who were left for dead on the spot; whether they recovered I do not know.

Nothing now prevented my putting to sea, which I was resolved to do on the 13th, but a gust of wind from the N. and N. W. that rose the same day, and blew almost directly into the channel through which I must go out. The wind rose higher and higher, notwithstanding which, the sea at our anchorage was scarcely agitated more than ordinarily; for all that, and riding at three anchors, the sheet cable gave way and I remained with the hope\* and third anchor only.

On the 15th, the wind somewhat abated; but when I worked ship to get under way, the cable of the hope broke, so that I had now nothing more to hold by than the third anchor. These accidents, joined to the crosses I met with in the course of my navigation, much disconcerted me. All my cables were rotten, as were the haliards, sheets, tacks, braces, ropes, and, in a word, all my tackling†. The bad state of my rigging left me in the dreadful expectation of losing the only anchor I had, and should that happen, I could not but consider my loss as certain in those distant climates.

To remedy our most immediate want, I fastened a cable to a neighbouring rock, which, conjointly with the remaining anchor, served to hold me fast. I also employed some of the men to endeavour to look for and fish up the two lost anchors; after a labour of

\* Is the name of an anchor in Spain.

† I here omit a long detail of the damage the tackling sustained, and a tedious story of the author's complaints; that would not be very amusing to the reader; besides which there are several errors in the manuscript.

twenty-four hours we found it useless, the water being too deep.

The vexations whereby I was tormented, did not permit me to accept an invitation the Tubou gave to assist at an entertainment similar to what he had before given on my account : but this prince, who called me his son, and undoubtedly loved me as such, did not forget to send every evening two baskets of potatoes, some fowls, and fish. He ordered the whole great quantity of provisions which had been got together for this new feast to be brought to me; and came several times to the frigate, often dining with me, and afterwards taking his afternoon's nap on board.

On the 16th, I endeavoured to set off, and the wind being contrary, ran upon different tacks, and although the current was also against me, and the gut so narrow as hardly to give me room to tack about, I found myself at the last tack to windward of all the points; but a furious squall blowing directly in my teeth, threw me back among the rocks through which I was steering. I was now more than ever perplexed, having no choice left but to return to my old harbour, let go the anchor, and carry a cable speedily on shore to hold me in the best manner that was possible. I, on the 18th, sent my first pilot in the boat to sound another channel, shut in, it is true, by several islands, but which, however, promised us an easy entry with the then prevailing winds. The pilot, on his return, assured us that the channel had throughout a good bottom, entirely free from shelves, and the passage large enough for running on tacks if requisite. I accordingly got ready for going out on the 19th, and at two o'clock the same afternoon, had cleared all the islands, which was all that I could then desire.

The Indians and Tubou were not prepared for this separation which they undoubtedly were much affected with : the king and queen took leave of me with



with the greatest demonstrations of sorrow, and the Indians, in their canoes, accompanied us till we were out of their archipelago.

This port, which I named Refuge Harbour, is formed by three tolerably large islands and several smaller ones. The whole group I called Don Martin de Mayorga. The port is situated in  $18^{\circ} 36'$  south, and  $179^{\circ} 52'$  east of Paris. There may at all times be found the most favourable shelter: the winds blowing in vain with their greatest fury, the sea could not be more tranquil, and the hurricane itself loses its power. At entering between these islands, whether by the W. N. or S. W. channel, the depth is from fifty to fifty-five fathoms, bottom of stone and sand, which same depth continues to the center of the gulph two cables length from shore, when it is only from thirty-five to forty fathoms. In some creeks the depth decreases even to twelve or fifteen fathoms. In this place are neither shoals nor reefs; the anchorage must, however, be chosen by the plumb, in some bays the bottom being partly earth\* and partly sand.

The fertility of the earth is such that it cannot but promise a favourable harvest. An immensity of cocoa and banana trees, ranged in rows with the most delightful regularity, are seen all around, much potatoe ground, as may be concluded from the great quantity sent on board, with other roots very pleasant and nearly of the same species. Lemon trees, sugar canes, fruit much resembling apples, oranges, &c. In short, two or three equis having once conducted me to a fruitful country, I admired the order with which every thing was disposed, no weeds being suffered to grow among the plants: their roads are kept up with a care worthy the imitation of the most polished nations. Seeing the zeal they had for agriculture, I gave them some beans, maize, a few grains of allspice and rice,

\* Should not this be *rock* instead of earth.

explaining their uses, and assuring them that they would succeed in their best soil.

They cultivate shrubs all ranged in order, similar to the banana trees, the bark of which shrubs serves for their cloaks or counterpanes, they likewise make a kind of petticoat of it.

Their conduct during our stay, is a proof of the confidence they placed in us; it was not in my power to do the same in this respect, never going on shore without a detachment which inspired them with terror. Neither did they give us the least cause of complaint but in their inclination to steal, a passion which Indians cannot surmount. Every time they came on board, whatever cloaths or iron work fell into their way, they considered as a lawful prize. They drew through the port holes or windows whatever they could carry away. They even stole the chains from the rudder, of which I complained to the king, who gave me leave to kill any one I might surprise in the act; and I was assured that he had not only discovered but put to death the authors of the above mentioned theft. Our vigilance was increased, and we surprised some of the islanders taking away fresh chains from the helm; we fired a pistol at them, of whom one fell dead: it was a lesson for those on board or astern of the frigate, who cried out, chito (thief) fama (dead).

I used every method to find out if they had any kind of religion, whether they adored any creature or false gods; but we observed nothing that could even make us suspect it.

We could easily pronounce the words of their language, and they as easily repeat ours; a stay of a few months would have put it in the power of the one and the other to use both languages indifferently. If my misfortunes had not totally absorbed me, I should have collected all the words of their language, which could serve for holding conversation with these

Indians.



Indians. In the little intercourse I had with them, I gathered the names of all the parts of the human body, as well as of the numbers as far as ten.

They assured me that two frigates had put into their islands, the captains of which, with five or six officers from each, had slept on shore, and gave them chaplets of glass beads, hatchets \*, and adzes.

The 16th of March, when I got ready for setting off, they told me that two similar vessels with mine, were then making sail to the N. W. and they entered into such a detail that it was impossible to doubt the truth of the fact.

The equis, from custom, carry a mother of pearl shell, suspended from their neck, and have the two smaller fingers of the hands cut off close to the roots.

The Tubou used his utmost endeavours to induce me to go with the frigate to his ordinary place of residence, where I should find vegetables in greater abundance. I should certainly have acquiesced in his desire from the first invitation, had the nature of my commission permitted it; and the rather as I should have found, by his assurance, as well as that of all the other Indians, a better shelter and assistance in repairing my rigging.

During my short stay in this port, I could not find out what where the functions of the equis, how they were distributed, what the nature of the Tubou's authority was, and how far his power extended. In the latter days of my remaining there, in particular, such was my chagrin that I thought of nothing but setting sail. This, indeed, I am sure of, that but for the unfortunate accident of losing my cables, which exposed me to a thousand dangers, I never should have made a pleasanter stay; since besides a sufficiency of water and the repair of twenty-five empty unserviceable casks, we found for the ship's

\* We may conclude from thence that the frigates were Spanish, as were those of which we are going to speak.

companies more refreshments even than we should have had in our own ports; so that they did not regret the demi-ration I discontinued, having been provided for several days. Some who were so afflicted with the scurvy as to be given over by the surgeon, recovered their health, and in short we had met with a prince, whose inclinations were so favourable towards us, that he was constantly clasping me in his arms, and offering all the provisions he had.



*Departure from Refuge Harbour, in the Island of Don Martin de Mayorga, in Lat. 18°. 38'. S. and 179°. 52' E. from Paris.*

ON the 20th of March, having weathered all the islands, I kept as close to the wind E. N. E. as lay in my power, running south-east on the nearest points to it. In this track we discovered E. S. E. 7°. S. a very elevated island, fifteen or sixteen leagues distant; and at sun-set three other islands, which extended from S. to W. S. W. 50°. W. at a distance of five leagues from the most easterly, which obliged me to tack at 9 P. M. At one o'clock I again re-tacked to the south, to approach these islands. We perceived in those nearer to us forty-eight fires.

On the 21st, at sun rise, we counted ten islands on the starboard, and six on the larboard side. We passed between them on the south, through wide channels which they form. We saw none of them a-head, until, come to a vast gulf, when we discovered, at five or six leagues distance, islands out of number, making a very extensive circumference, in the center of which we were. In traversing one of the straits formed by these islands, we had taken soundings; the plumb made it five fathoms, but only for an instant, the moment after the depth having greatly increased.



increased. Seeing myself surrounded by so many low islands, or small islots, between which were left many channels, I attempted to sail through one of these openings, but as we approached we perceived that they were obstructed by rough shelves, which would not let me sail through the southern part. I resolved to bear up westerly, towards the very lofty islands we had descried in the evening, at a great distance, not doubting that I must find in its vicinity a free passage out of this archipelago.

From the break of day, successively arrived many canoes laden with the same fruits and provisions as those of the preceding islands. The exchange began, shreds of linen being the price of their commodities.

The Tubou of this island sent me two pigs and some cocoa nuts, and invited me to come to the island, where he resided. He afterwards came himself on board, when he told me he would entertain me with the feat of wrestling, and that he would collect for my crew a heap of potatoes, as high as our main-mast. He appeared jealous of the good reception that the Tubou of Mayorga had given us.

I gave him to understand that I would comply with his wishes as soon as I should be to the south of the island before us, but they all agreed in informing me that the passages were shut by shoals and reefs, and that on the contrary I should find sufficient depth by taking the course of the Tubou's Island and the high one that I was already steering for. Although I was assured by all that this great equi was sovereign of forty-eight islands, which they named to me in the most minute detail; I did not perceive that they had the same affection and respect for him as those of Refuge Islands had. Immediately, on his coming on board, he put his beads of mother-of pearl round my neck, as a token of close friendship; and after having passed five or six hours, returned to one of

the islands, in the expectation that I should join him to-morrow.

I ran close along many shelves, and at sun-set found myself to the east of St. Christopher\* Islands, at six leagues distance, clear of the little flat islands: but as the wind freshened from the east, I remained all night under very little sail, that I might not expose myself to run upon any unobserved islot.

I gave this group of islands the name of Don Joseph de Galvez. The southern cape of the Tubou's Island is in lat.  $19^{\circ} 39'$ . and long.  $179^{\circ} 38'$ . W. of Paris.

At day-break of the 22d I ran under a press of sail as near south on the next point, as possible; and in following this tract we saw two islands before us, which I called the Adders, beyond which was perceived a great ridge, the breakers whereof were seen very far; it was five leagues from us.

The prevalent winds from the east and north east, drove us forward, by which we continued our navigation more easy in mind, finding ourselves delivered from the dangers whereto we had been exposed, as well by the islands as reefs. We saw nothing more till the 24th, when we discovered in the third quarter (between S. and W.) at seven leagues distance, a small island, which I named The Solitary. On the 27th we saw another W. S. W.  $3^{\circ}$  W. ten leagues distant, to which I gave the name of Vasquez.

From the night of the 27th to the 28th, the wind became outrageous, and the sea ran very high. At midnight I was obliged to lay to, till day-break, when the weather became mild, and I stood towards the west, with a light north-easterly wind.

On the 29th, finding myself S. lat.  $25^{\circ} 52'$ , and

\* What is this island of St. Christopher? Can it be the lofty island which was mentioned, and to which that name was given? It should have been explicit on this head.



reckoning myself  $179^{\circ} 17'$  east from Paris, the wind veered to the west, of which I took the advantage to make sail to the S. E. a quarter E. wishing to bring myself more to the S. and at the same time gain some longitude towards the east. This route I pursued to the 3d of April, on which day, in  $36^{\circ}$  lat. and  $174^{\circ} 22'$  long. W. from Paris, the wind fell almost into an absolute calm.

In such circumstances, and on account of the continual complaints that the ship bread was not eatable, I thought it adviseable to look into it myself. When I saw the actual state in which it was, I could not but regard my situation as the most dreadful, to which those who navigate unknown seas, without hope of any relief, can be reduced. Never shall I call to mind that sorrowful moment, without the recollection of the spectacle which then came to my view, piercing and rending my very heart. I can with truth affirm, that if God had not sustained me in that deplorable moment, I should have fallen in the utmost despair, seeing no appearance of being able to continue our way.

I ordered the first pilot, *Don Joseph Vasquez*, the second, *Don John d'Echeverria*, and all the sea officers to attend, and made the surgeon, *Don Pedro Carvajal*, reporter of the counsel which we were going to hold, and of the deliberations which should be there taken. I conducted them, one after another, to the bread-room, when we found millions of cockroaches; to convey an idea of the number of these insects, they must have been seen by the eye. This plague had so infested our frigate, that the holy Father was obliged to exorcise them more than once. For my own part, I took care to distribute in the cabins, bread-rooms, and throughout all the ship, vessels\* rubbed over the inside with honey mixed with

\* In the text it is wrote spitting pots.

sugar ; each day brought me a large pail full of those insects. I thus consumed almost my whole stock of honey, while their number did not perceptibly diminish.

The bread, at first opening the room, appeared untouched, but near the partitions the biscuit had entirely disappeared, and the floor presented to view nothing but a heap of bran and dust. From the diminution of the allowance, which order I issued on the 16th of February, and from the drawback of one ounce in each pound, which took place from the time we left Sifiran, there should remain 8225lb. of bread, (16 oz. to the lb.) without reckoning the other provisions, which were in tolerable abundance : but on that day I saw myself reduced to two great boxes of dust rather than bread\*. I had the three casks of reserve opened, which were well bound with iron hoops, properly coated with pitch. There was no appearance of their having contained any bread, they were full of cockroaches alone.

I finally took the precaution of picking out as much bread as possible, and inclosing it in the flag and arm chests. On weighing it I found it to be 1000lb. weight. (16 oz.) In the second place I collected all the potatoes that remained among the crew, but the provision having been given out a fortnight before, hardly two baskets full could be obtained. Thirdly, I had all the pigs and other animals killed, except some fowls which were kept for the sick, for whom I also preserved the little honey remaining from the stock I took in at Sifiran. The fourth precaution I thought necessary to take, was instantly to suspend even the allowance of bread, and to distribute per head to the ship's company a small ration of potatoes, from the provision which I made of them with the Indians, three ounces of pork and one of rice. In all this my only aim was to preserve life until

\* I again abridge here.



might be in a situation to grant them more abundant support. In short I resolved to divide with them my provisions, reserving as a last resource, the two chests, which I looked upon as sacred.

After all these resolutions, I took counsel with the officers already pointed out. I represented to them my proceedings since the first of January, what bread ought to have remained, and what did actually remain. I told them that I the more willingly laid before them the precautions I proposed taking, as they had themselves suffered from the retrenchments I thought it my duty to make, retrenchments which had caused me to be treated like a tyrant, as having a bad heart, and as a man who had laid aside every sentiment of humanity : that we were actually 1760 leagues from Peru, 1240 from Guaham in the Marianne islands : that the winds were favourable for either the one or the other of these tracks, save some calms or crossès which must always be expected in such voyages ; that they had themselves seen the state of our victuals ; that, in short, I entreated them to tell me how they would conduct themselves if they had the command of the ship in such circumstances. All unanimously answered, that death alone could be worse than our present state ; that of the two routes proposed, although either of them gave but very little hope of safety, they could not dispense with choosing that of the Mariannes, and trying whether they could not get some assistance at the islands of Mayorga, not having a month's provisions. In the end the first and second pilot supported all their representations ; and myself, convinced that their advice would be best, besides, being unwilling to be at all accessory to the loss of so many unhappy men, or be obstinate against what seemed to me most to the King's interest, I gave orders for steering to the north, with the intention of getting forty leagues to the eastward of these islands, where I had already found, and hoped

ed again to find refreshments. This resolution, however, I did not take without a pain still more acute than that which I had felt on inspecting our provision : I would rather have chosen death than to run again to the north ; and had I not given way to reason, I should have taken the mad resolution of pursuing our navigation eastward. The calmness of my mind entirely forsook me ; I was far from experiencing that tranquillity wherewith I have borne up against an infinity of crosses in the dangerous voyages for discoveries \* I had undertaken. The reflection that we had no other choice left was not sufficient for my tranquillization, especially when I reflected that this state of distress manifested itself precisely at the time when we surmounted the difficulties of our navigation, when we had reached a latitude where we could not but expect favourable winds, and with which I thought we might terminate our voyage. It is nevertheless certain, that if this whim of myself seeing into the state of our provisions had been a fortnight later, our greatest happiness would have been to stay in some desert island, if we had had the good fortune to fall in with any. And even in the situation wherein we found ourselves, if the refreshments furnished us by the Indians had not been so plentiful, I could then have taken no other part, than to look out for some land whereto we could fly for refuge. It was then truly by an act of Providence that we fell in with the islands of Mayorga, whence we had drawn such essential assistance. With variable winds which blew from all points of the horizon, I from the 4th of April followed a northerly course, or that which approached it nearest in the first quarter (between N. and E.). On the 9th a breeze from S. E. to N. E. began to prevail, which I availed myself of to get forty leagues east

\* What service would not this navigator be of to geography, would he communicate his discoveries to the public ?



of these islands, that I might afterwards find them with less difficulty by following their parallel.

The wind on the 16th abated, but on the 18th it increased, and was accompanied by overcast weather and rain in abundance; we laid to all night. At day break we ran for these islands, but the current carried us some minutes to the north: the bad weather afforded us no opportunity for taking an observation, besides which, these islands being very low, we did not perceive them. We saw to the N. W. the island which lies S. W.  $7^{\circ}$  S. of that of Latté, upon coming near to which we recognized Latté at the distance of six leagues, the result of which was, that my reckoning was thirty miles astern of the frigate, and that we had consequently passed between the two groupes of the islands of Galvez and Mayorga, at a short distance from both, which continual fogs and a cloudy horizon had prevented our seeing.

As the only hope whereby the courage of my sailors was sustained, was being able to gain the island of Mayorga, I hauled my wind as close as possible, and reefed the topsails; but the sea running high, the wind strong, and the night dark, obliged me to give up the idea of landing on these islands, convinced that I could not approach them (which was at any rate very doubtful) without losing many days. My complement was discouraged by the sight of its wretched state, the weakness of which was such, that to hoist a topsail, the men of both decks were frequently obliged to put all hands to the work. The most rigorous hospital diet could not have enfeebled them more. To cheer up their spirits, I made them consider, that in our present track, we must infallibly fall in with other islands, where they might recruit their strength. That the winds were favourable, and that we every day advanced in full sail towards the end of our sufferings. Tranquillized by this reasoning, they became calm under their afflictions.

On

On the 21st we discovered at N. N. E. and E. N. E. two islands, which I named Consolation, because my crew there found some relief, having obtained potatoes, pigs, bananas, cocoa nuts, and fowls, which the islanders brought during the thirty hours I laid off the coast. Had the weather not been so rough, the refreshments would have been more plentiful; however, the ship's company, by their barter, in which their apparel was not spared, and at the risk of being left absolutely naked, made provisions for more than a week, whereby the sailors recovered their strength, and were better enabled to support the last misfortune which awaited them.

As, at our approach to the island, we saw a very great number of canoes, laden with provisions, coming to meet us, I suspended the scanty allowance which I furnished from my own store. It is easy to conceive my object in this parsimony.

The Indians of these islands speak the same language as those of Refuge Island, and their character of mind is the same. Such was the confidence they reposed in us, that nineteen of them slept on board, whether we would or not, and the next day we were obliged to rid ourselves of them by force.

They were desirous for me to land in their island, when they would exchange a great many large hogs with us, the small size of their canoes only permitting them to bring lesser ones; but time being precious I contented myself with seeing that no one neglected himself, and that every provision was made that circumstances would admit of.

The 22nd at night I stood to the N. N. W. with a light wind from the north\*, and in this track dis-

\* There is some mistake here. I cannot think that the Spaniards could, with a northerly wind, have steered N. N. W. It must certainly be read either *a north easterly wind*, or *a course to the W. N. W.*



covered on the 24th another island, which I named Maurelle. The wind became calm, except some squalls and transient puffs from the north east, that prevented my standing for the island before sun set. A south easterly wind then springing up, I approached it within three leagues, but night coming on, and the distance being too great for the little canoes of the Indians, made two of them, coming under sail, and, no doubt, laden with refreshments, return.

The winds continued to blow from the first and second quarter (from N. to E. and E. to S.) sometimes fresh, and then so faint that they fell into a calm. I took advantage of every favourable moment, and found myself, on the 3d of May, in 6° lat. In this position we found a very low island, surrounded with a sandy shore, terminating in one impenetrable reef, near which I could reach no bottom with a line of upwards of 50 fathoms. The island was covered with a thick plantation of cocoa-nut trees\*. This sight was the more agreeable to the ship's company, as the provisions obtained at Consolation Island were exhausted that very day.

I sent the long-boat, armed, to try to bring us a good supply of cocoa-nuts; this the breakers of the reef prevented. The frigate, however, got so near the coast, that the natives spoke to us from the beach, but we could devise no means of getting nearer. However the Indians put their canoes to sea with extreme difficulty, the reef being a great impediment. They reached us in great numbers, though the hazard of the navigation had prevented them from bringing but very few nuts. They endeavoured to tow the frigate, by fastening several lines to her

\* It will be presently seen that this island was called *Island of Cocal*. Cocal signifies a plantation of *cocoa palms*, (cocotaie) but I did not dare to risk that term.

prow, and paddling all at once towards the island, from whence they flung ropes to haul us in. Six hours having passed without their being able to effect it, and seeing no prospect of ultimate success, I made sail towards the N. W.

The inhabitants of this islet already began to vary much in their pronounciation of several words, common to the other islands. They were so smeared over with paint, that one might have taken them for images of demons. They, for the most part, had long beards, hanging down upon their breasts. Near the cocoa-nut plantation there were so many huts, placed in such excellent order, that the population of the island might be concluded to be considerable.

On the 6th I was under the necessity of reducing the allowance of bread to five ounces, pork two, and beans two, which I drew from my own private stock, there being no more in the king's stores; and although I thought it impossible for any crew to support nature with ten ounces of bad victuals, the dreadful state of our provisions did not permit me to give out more.

The same day, in the evening, we saw another island lower, but much larger than the preceding one. I named it St. Augustin, and left it six leagues to the S. W.

We had, in recrossing the line on the 13th, squalls from every point of the compass. All the remarks I had made on the state of the horizon, since leaving Cocal Islands, convinced me that we had left many lands to the east, which no doubt compose, with Solomon's Islands, a string more or less open to the south of the equinoctial line.

During the short time that the allowance of bread remained at six ounces, there was not a single man among the crew but complained of a weakness in

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the stomach. The whole of them were so feeble that all hands together could not hoist the sails without great difficulty, which forced us frequently to dispense with manœuvres that would have been of great utility.

On the 22nd I calculated that I was upon the shoals of St. Bartholomew. Prudence would have undoubtedly required me sometimes to lay to during the night, particularly as the wind was not only pretty fresh but even violent; but I was too much affected with the lamentable state of my crew, the majority of whom were attacked by the scurvy, owing to the bad quality of the bread. I crowded sail, and the extreme vigilance I recommended to every individual of the ship's company, supplied the place of those precautions which, under any other circumstances, I should have taken.

Our latitude on the 24th, was  $13^{\circ} 16'$  N. and all danger over; I therefore steered W. by N. W. for Guam, the capital of the Marianas, where I came to anchor on the 31st, in Umata road, and soon received the necessary assistance for properly victualling my ship's company. As I had only one anchor, too little to trust to in the road, I sent an express to Don Phillip Zérain, governor of the island, whom I made acquainted with the actual state of my vessel, and the object of my commission, desiring him to put me in a state for setting sail as soon as possible; declaring that however bad the condition of my sails and rigging, I was nevertheless resolved to make the best of my way for New Spain, to place in the hands of his excellency the viceroy of Mexico, the important dispatches with which I was charged. I added, that I hoped he would facilitate my being furnished with provisions, of those articles of food indispensable for so long a navigation. That did not demand the provisions with which it is customary to furnish king's ships, they would not

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have been found in this presidio, but such as could be got together in the island, provided that their quantity might make them equivalent to the ordinary provisions.

The governor took upon himself to judge of every thing necessary for the success of my commission. Conceiving the consequence of not being driven by the wind out of the roadstead while my crew were bereft of food, he sent fifteen days' provisions in rice, maize, and hogs, on board, without discontinuing the daily refreshments we were furnished with for the re-establishment of the health of those afflicted with the scurvy, and preparing my crew for a new voyage. He likewise ordered to be brought from a presidio, ten leagues from Umata, a very old anchor, wanting it is true a quarter of the stock, but I repaired it so as to make it fit for service, and by the help of another wooden anchor, which I constructed with my carpenter's assistance, we were, at the end of eight days, riding at three anchors, though not to the entire satisfaction of the crew.

Nothing now remained for us but to procure water, to assure our subsistence whether at anchor or under sail. Since my arrival I had successively put on shore all my empty water casks. It was not long since they had been filled at the islands of Mayorga. What then must be our astonishment, when we found only two pipes of water left, one of which wanted a whole barrel of being full! I requested the governor, his major, and all my crew to be witnesses with their own eyes of this enormous waste. All returned God thanks for his having saved us from the imminent danger with which we were threatened.

As all the staves and heads of the barrels were eaten throughout, we were obliged to repair them anew; but after this labour, the pipes which before held five barrels, now contained only four; besides we could only make up 48 pipes from these wrecks. The

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governor seeing the insufficiency of this supply, sent on board 30 *cannes*, each holding eight *quartillos* \*. This succour was certainly unequal to the ravage we had reason to fear from our destructive insects. I however took courage, hoping that in the abundance of our provisions they would easily satiate themselves.

The eatables I procured, without cost to the royal treasure, were 140 anègues † of maize, 60 of rice, 30 pigs, 20 young bulls, (perhaps oxen) 45. . . . . ‡ of dried meat, salt, butter, lamp-oil, brandy made of cocoa nuts for the crew, 60 cocoa nuts for the hogs, and all the other articles of importance necessary for a ship. Under more favourable circumstances we should not have been satisfied with such provisions. I now got every thing in readiness for setting sail on the 20th June 1781, for new Spain, to complete the fulfilment of a commission, the result of which might be highly beneficial to the welfare of the State.



*Departure from the Road of Umata, in the Island of Guam, the Capital of the Marianas, situated in 30° 10' N. Lat. 21° 28' Long. of Manilla.*

I GOT under way the 20th June, and once more experienced the great weakness of my cables, par-

\* This is probably a mistake. According to *Paucton's Treatise on Weights and Measures*, &c. the thirty *cannes*, of eight *quartillos* each, would only have held 125 Paris pints, and above one half less, or only sixty pints, by *Sejournant's Dictionary*. This assistance would have been very trifling. It must apparently be read 100 or 8000 *quartillos*.

† The Anegue, or rather Fanègue, contains very near four bushels and a half, Paris measure.

‡ This abbreviation probably means Anègues. The author has, however, elsewhere used it for *Arrobes*. The arrobe, for substances, is a weight of twenty-five pounds, forty-five arrobes would only make, therefore, 1125 pounds, which would not be a very great

ticularly of that attached to the anchor which the Governor had procured. The anchor was scarcely got out of the water before the cable broke, and the ship in casting having greatly increased the depth of water, it sunk beyond the reach of the cable.

The season permitted us to take a northerly course, the winds from E. and E. N. E. carried me to lat.  $20^{\circ} 10'$ . We were afterwards becalmed for seven whole days, during which time we only moved with the currents, whereby we were drifted to the N. W.

On the 3d July, in  $24^{\circ} 26'$  lat., the wind of the fourth quarter (between W. and N.) began to blow now with great violence, and then more faintly; it carried me on the 7th to  $25^{\circ} 9'$  lat., and I then supposed I might be off the Great-Volcano Island. This route we continued to the 11th, when finding myself in  $27^{\circ} 52'$  of lat., I judged that I might be 25 leagues to the east of the island of Bad-Shelter, and that I had cleared all the string of the Marian Islands. The wind then veered to the third quarter, (between S. and W.) and I stood to the N. E., always endeavouring to get a higher latitude, for the purpose of falling in with a fresh westerly wind. Arrived at  $40^{\circ}$  lat., I steered E. by N. E. as far as the winds would permit, but finding that I was in lat.  $43^{\circ}$ , long.  $179^{\circ} 28'$  E. from Paris, the wind shifted to the second quarter (between E. and S.) and it became so violent as to oblige me to lie by two days.

The 5th August the wind blew from the N. W., I steered E. by S. E. till the 13th. In this interval the wind came from every point of the compass, fixing at last in the second and first quarter. I availed myself to the utmost of these variations to proceed eastward.

On the 30th I was in N. lat.  $37^{\circ} 5'$ , and I reckoned my longitude  $144^{\circ} 17'$  W. of Paris, and 260 leagues from Cape Mendocino. The wind being then in the fourth quarter, I stood eastward until the



3d September, when we saw sea-weed, and trunks of fir-trees floating on the water, the first sign of the proximity of the northern coast of California. To get nearer it I bore up E. S. E.

The sea on the 4th changed colour, and the sight of some small birds was a confirmation of our not being far from a land which we should not be long before we came in sight of.

On the 8th I was off Point Pedernales or Gun-Flints, at the distance of five leagues. These bearings placed me in  $123^{\circ} 3'$  long. W. of Paris. By reckoning I was in  $130^{\circ} 34'$ , so that my calculation was 122 leagues wrong, by which I made myself too much to the west.

On getting sight of this Point I made for Cape St. Lucas. In the way I passed to the east of the Island of Guadaloupe at the distance of eight leagues. The weather was calm for some days, after which on the 20th, I came in sight of Morne St. Lazarus, and was on the 22d, near Cape St. Lucas.

On the 25th after some calms, during which I was almost always within sight of the land of this Cape, a terrible hurricane arose, that in the space of six hours went round from the east to the north, west and south, with such violence, that notwithstanding the impetuosity of the sea, which was against us, we ran seven miles and a half an hour under the fore-sail only. Doubtless we should have been dismasted, had the tempest continued much longer.

The same day, when the hurricane had subsided, I set every sail and stood for the Maria Islands, which I doubled to the north on the 26th and 27th at night, and anchored in the roadstead of St. Blas, in lat.  $21^{\circ} 30'$  long.  $107^{\circ} 6'$  W. of Paris. I was so fortunate as to bring home my crew safe and sound, notwithstanding the horrible havoc made by the cockroaches in our provisions, and the misery which

was the result of it, with the loss of only two men, one of whom died in the Port of Sifiran before our departure, and the other was attacked by a phthisis when he embarked \*.

F. A. MAURELLE.

St. Blas, 27th September, 1781, on board  
the La Princesse Frigate.

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*Extract from the Narrative of a Voyage made in 1770,  
by Don Francis Anthony Maurelle, Enseigne de Fré-  
gate, in the Service of the King of Spain, for the Dis-  
covery of the West Coast of North America.*

THE Spaniards have within a few years under-  
taken three voyages for examining the west coast  
of North America. In the first, Don John Perez,  
first pilot, got as high as  $55^{\circ}$  lat., and on his return  
twice reconnoitred the coast between this point  
and the port of Monterey.

For the second voyage, undertaken in 1775, a fri-  
gate and schooner were fitted out. The command of  
the schooner was given to Don John Francis de la  
Bodega y Quadra, lieutenant de vaisseau. Don Mau-  
relle, who accompanied Don de la Bodega, and was  
then but a second Pilot, had given a sketch of this  
expedition, a copy of which fell into the hands of  
the English. Sir Daines Barrington published an  
English translation of it in England, and Captain  
Cook mentions it in the account of his third voyage.  
But Captain Dixon, in the narrative of his voyage in

\* I have not added any remark to the account of this voyage  
which Maurelle has termed interesting; but as in hydrography, the  
least exact journals may be serviceable in some degree, notwith-  
standing the somewhat severe judgment of La Pérouse upon it, I  
the extract from his correspondence in the second volume,  
thought it might be of use to some navigators, or throw light on  
some geographical discussions.—*French Editor.*



these seas, accuses Don Maurelle of manifest falsehood; according to him it is an indisputable fact, that this officer has never been in the seas where he boasts of having made fruitless researches. The accusation is strong, and if well founded, Don Maurelle is entitled to no confidence whatever. "We endeavoured," says this navigator, "to find out the straits of Admiral Fuentes, though we had not hitherto discovered the archipelago of St. Lazarus through which we failed. After all these unavailing researches, we can pronounce this strait not to be in existence." There, says Captain Dixon, speaking of Queen Charlotte's Islands: "the situation of these islands, viz. from  $54^{\circ} 20'$  to  $51^{\circ} 56'$  N. lat., and from  $130^{\circ}$  to  $133^{\circ} 30'$  W. long. evidently shews, that they are the archipelago of St. Lazarus." But is it fully proved, that what Captain Dixon calls *Queen Charlotte's Islands*, is really a groupe of several islands? "There is every reason to believe it, by considering the number of small straits which have been seen in ranging along the coast." But may not these small straits be nothing but creeks, none of them having yet been penetrated? Captain Dixon had other affairs to attend to; his object was not to make discoveries, but to purchase fine furs cheap, and sell them dear at China. Neither is he the author of the narrative. It is, he says in the introduction, by a person as little versed in a literary career as accustomed to a maritime life. But Captain Dixon tells us in the introduction, that he has carefully corrected what relates to navigation. The whole is, undoubtedly, very well corrected; but to support the erroneous opinion which people appear to be in as to the reality of Admiral Fuentes' discoveries, it were unnecessary to tax with imposition a navigator whose sole object was to make discoveries.

Maurelle's discoveries, in this second expedition, extended to the 58th degree of latitude. Don Maurelle has particularized them on a chart, which may

probably not have fallen into the hands of the English: the Spaniards will perhaps publish it, and the discoveries of Maurelle may then be combined with those of Cook and Dixon. Don de la Bodega, and Don Maurelle, discovered, among other places, in  $55^{\circ} 18'$  lat., the entrance of an harbour, which they supposed to be a good one, and named it the *Entrance of Bucarelli*, in honour of friar Don Anthony Maria Bucarelli y Ursua, Viceroy of Mexico, who spared nothing, as far as depended upon him, to facilitate the success of these expeditions. He discovered also two very good harbours; that of Guadelupa in  $57^{\circ} 11'$ , and Los Remedios in  $57^{\circ} 18'$ . Cook, in his third voyage, saw these harbours, but did not put in there.

A third expedition was, in 1777, ordered by the King of Spain, whereby he intended to complete the exploration of the N. W. coast of America, from  $58^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$ . Don Bucarelli equipped two frigates; the *la Princesa* commanded by Don Ignace Arteaga, lieutenant de vaisseau; the *Favourite*, by Don de la Bodega, who took Maurelle, then enseigne de frégate, as his second captain. Their first place of rendezvous was agreed to be at the entrance of Bucarelli, where they were to take in wood, water, &c.

On the 11th February, 1779, they left the harbour of St. Blas, which they place in lat.  $21^{\circ} 30'$  N., and long.  $107^{\circ} 6'$  W. of Paris. They arrived the 3d May at the entrance of Bucarelli, the geographical situation of which is, by this account, in lat.  $55^{\circ} 18'$  N., and long.  $139^{\circ} 15'$  W. of Paris. There does not appear to be ground for calling in question the accuracy of the latitudes determined by Don Maurelle; the same cannot be said of the longitudes, which were probably only determined by account. According to an observation taken by Cook the preceding year, of the coasts near the entrance of Bucarelli, that entrance must be very nearly  $227^{\circ}$  E of Greenwich, or  $135\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$  W. of Paris.

The entrance of Bucarelli introduced the Spaniards into



into a vast gulph, where they anchored the 3d May in a port, as they say, inferior to none in Europe. They named it Port of the Cross (La Cruz.)

Don Maurelle was dispatched on the 18th of May with the two long boats to survey the gulph all round. In this expedition, which lasted till the 12th of June, he took the bearings of all the capes, islands, and principal parts of the great gulph, and delineated all the creeks, bays, and particular ports. All these bays and harbours are, says he, good and secure. He named them all, and afterwards constructed a large and very exact plan of the whole of the great gulph. It is much to be wished that this plan were made public, as well as the chart which he composed of the coasts and islands discovered by the Spaniards in the course of their expedition. The chart would not, however, be so essential as the plan, the same coast having been visited the year preceding by Cook, though some particulars might be found upon it which had escaped the English argonaut. Don Maurelle met with but few habitations in his expedition, seeing only one village, situate at the top of a steep mountain, which could only be ascended by a flight of steps, or rather wooden ladder, whence if the foot slipped, one must fall down the precipice.

The Spaniards were not long in the port of the Cross (La Cruz) without being visited by the Indians in its vicinity. Traffic commenced, the Indians giving them furs, and various trifles, for glass beads, pieces of old iron, &c. From this barter, the Spaniards were enabled to form a pretty good idea of their genius, offensive and defensive weapons, manufactures, &c.

They are of a clear olive colour, many of them having notwithstanding a perfectly white skin. Their countenance is well proportioned in all its parts. They are robust, courageous, arrogant, and warlike. They cloath themselves, apparently with the fur of  
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one or more undressed skins of otters, sea wolves, benades, (a species of deer) bears, or other animals which they take in the chase. These dresses cover them from the neck to the middle of the leg. Several of them wear boots of smooth skin, not unlike the English boots, except that those of the Indians open before, and are laced up with a string. Their hats are woven from fine bark of trees, the form of which is like a funnel or cone. At the wrists they have bracelets of copper, iron, or for want of these metals, fins of whale; and round the neck, necklaces of small fragments of the bone of fish, or other animals, or even copper necklaces as thick as two fingers. Their ear-rings are of mother of pearl, or plates of copper, on which is embossed a topaz-coloured rosin, accompanied with jet beads. Their hair is long and thick. They use a comb very like ours to hold it together in a small queue from the middle to its extremity; a narrow ribbon of coarse linen woven on purpose, serves as a ligament.

They wear also as a covering a kind of scarf\*, about a vare† and a half long, and a vare wide, woven like the *peillons*‡ of Peru, with a fringe half a quarter of a vare wide, the thread of which is regularly twisted.

The dress of the women is a proof of the modesty and decency of their manners. Their physiognomy is agreeable, their colour fresh, their cheeks of a lively red, and their hair long, which they plait into our tress. They wear a long robe of smooth skin tied

\* In the Spanish it is *algunas prefadas*. I do not know whether *prefada* signifies any thing but a green colour. *Prefadas* is perhaps written for *frafadas*, a covering. P. for F, and f for z, frequently occur in the manuscript.

† The Spanish vare is about three French feet in length.

‡ The Spanish *peillon* is a species of ancient robe, which is yet in use at Peru. I have not been able to find out of what texture it was.



about the loins, something similar to that of a nun ; it covers them from the neck to the feet : the sleeves reach down to the wrists. On this gown they put many skins of otters, or other animals, to defend them from the inclemency of the weather. Many of them, if better dressed, might dispute the prize of beauty with the finest Spanish women ; but not content with the charms bestowed upon them by nature, they have recourse to art, not to embellish but disfigure themselves. All the married women have a large aperture in the lower lip, which is filled up by a piece of wood of an oval form, the smallest diameter of which is nearly an inch ; the older a woman is the greater is the extent of this beautiful ornament. It renders them frightful, particularly the old women, whose lip, deprived of its natural situation, and drawn down by the weight of this admirable jewel, necessarily hangs in a very disagreeable manner. The girls only wear a copper needle, which crosses the lip, where the ornament is intended afterwards to be placed.

These Indians use, in war, cuirasses and shoulder pieces, not unlike, in workmanship, the whalebone stays of Europeans. Narrow boards form, in some measure, the woof of this texture, and threads are the warp ; by these means the whole is very flexible, and leaves the arm a free motion for wielding the weapons. They wear round the neck a large coarse gorget, which covers them up to the eyes, and their head is protected by a helmet, ordinarily made of the head of some wild beast. From the waist to the feet they have a kind of apron of the same texture as their cuirass. Lastly, a fine skin\* hangs from the shoulder to the knee. With these arms

\* In the Spanish it is written *quera*, which I do not believe to be a Spanish word. I supposed that it should be made *cuera*, the name of a species of skin garment.

they

they are invulnerable to their enemies ; but they cannot move with equal agility as if they were less encumbered. Arrows are their offensive weapons. Bows, the strings of which are woven, like the large string of our best musical instruments ; lances four vares in length, headed with iron ; knives of the same metal, longer than European bayonets, a weapon which, however, is not common among them ; small hatchets of flint, or green stone, so hard as to cleave the closest wood, without turning its edge.

The pronunciation of their language is extremely difficult, speaking from the throat with a motion of the tongue against the palate. The little use the women can make of their lower lip is a great impediment to the plainness of the language. The Spaniards could neither pronounce nor write the words they heard.

These Indians, from their vivacity and attention to keep the market, established at the port, well supplied, it may be concluded, are tolerably laborious. They continually brought stuffs, well woven, and shaded with different colours ; skins of sea and land wolves ; otters, bears, and other smaller animals. Of these skins some were raw, others dressed. At this market we also found coverlets \* of common cloth, intermixed with brown and black colours, very well woven, but in small quantities. Large ribbons of the same, which might be compared to that of the Spanish officers' mattresses. Skeins of thread, of which this cloth was made ; wooden trenchers, prettily worked ; little boats, or canoes, painted of several colours, the figures of which represented heads with all their parts ; perfect imitations, in wood, of frogs, which opened like snuff boxes, and served for them to keep their trinkets in ; boxes, made of small planks, of a

\* *Tresadas* again occurs here. I supposed *fraxadas*, bed coverlets, were meant.



cubical form, three quarters of a vare on each side, with figures of different animals, well sketched, on the outside, the covers made like the etwees of Flanders, having indented edges, so as to shut into the body of the box; animals of wood, both terrestrial and aërial; figures of men, of the same materials, headed with helmets, to represent the heads of different beasts; snares and nets for fishing; copper necklaces and iron bracelets, which they would not part with, but at a very high price; and beaks, from whence they drew a sound like that of a German flute. The principal officers picked out from this merchandise what they liked best, leaving the rest to the disposal of the ship's company.

The Indians perceiving that the Spaniards were very dainty in fish, did not let them want for choice. Those of which there was the greatest abundance was salmon, and a kind of sole or turbot, three vares and a quarter long, and proportionably broad and thick; also cod, pilchard, and fish resembling trout. Hence it may be inferred, that this gulph must be well filled with fish. The banks likewise are lined with shells. The quantity of mother-of-pearl that these Indians cut up to make ear-rings with, awakened the curiosity of the Spaniards, who endeavoured to find out whether these people had not in their possession, or the country did not produce pearls or precious stones. Their researches were fruitless, finding only stones, which they judged to be of a metallic quality, and which they put on board the ship, not having the necessary means for extracting the metal they might contain.

The food of these Indians is fresh or dry fish, boiled or roasted; herbs and roots, the produce of their mountains, and that in particular called in Spain sea-parsley; and, lastly, on the flesh of animals which they take in the chace, which must undoubtedly

doubtedly be very plentiful, by the great number of dogs they breed up for that purpose.

The Spaniards perceived no vestige of worship among them, except their sometimes bending towards the sun, but whether as an act of devotion, they could not ascertain. Don Maurelle, in his expedition round the gulph, found, in two islands, three bodies laid in boxes, similar to those before described, and decked in their furs. These biers were placed in a little hut, on a platform of the branches of trees.

The country is very hilly, the mountains very high, their slope extending, in almost every instance, down to the sea. The soil, limestone, is notwithstanding covered with a very impenetrable forest of lofty, thick, and strait pine trees. As their roots cannot strike deep into the ground, the violence of the wind often tears them up. They rot, and change into a light mould, in which grows a bushy thicket, wherein are found nettles, camomile, wild celery, anise, a species of cabbage, celandine, elder, wormwood, sorrel, and, no doubt, along the rivers, many other plants.

The Spaniards saw ducks, mews, divers, kites, ravens, geese, cranes, goldfinches, and other little birds, to them unknown.

The traffic between the Spaniards and Indians was perfectly undisturbed; the former always keeping upon their guard, ready to defend themselves in case of attack, the others contenting themselves with stealing to their utmost, secretly if not observed, and openly if they thought they were the strongest. For the better maintenance of peace, the Spaniards shut their eyes to petty thefts; but if any were committed too much to their prejudice, they seized upon some canoe, or personage of distinction, which was not released till restitution was made; but this was attended with no bloodshed.

The



The desire of procuring iron, cloth, and other stuffs, was, with some Indians, prevalent over paternal love, they selling their children for some vares of stuffs, or broken pieces of iron hoops. The Spaniards purchased, in this manner, three young boys, one five or six, the other four, and the third nine or ten years of age; not to make slaves, but Christians of them; hoping, at the same time, to derive from them useful information as to the nature of the country and its inhabitants. These children were so rejoiced at being with the Spaniards, that they concealed themselves when their fathers came on board, for fear of being returned to their parents. With the same view two little girls had likewise been bought; one, very ugly, seven or eight years old, the other younger and better made, but sickly, and almost at death's door.

The oldest of the boys appeared to have a vivacity of spirit and understanding by no means common; he soon made himself beloved by the whole crew. He signified, by very expressive signs, what his countrymen meditated, what they ought to do, and what was the end they proposed. He took the soldiers by the hand, conducted them to the *depôt* of arms, put the muskets in their hands, made signs for them to be charged, and give fire upon such or such a canoe, but to spare such and such another, which belonged to friends. The environs of this port are therefore inhabited by different tribes inimical to each other.

At the new and full moon the sea rises in the harbour of La Cruz to seventeen feet three inches English; the water is there high at a quarter past twelve at noon. The lowest tides are fourteen feet three inches; the night tides exceeded those of the day by one foot nine inches.

The south, south-east, and south-west winds being always accompanied by fogs, and continual rain,

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the Spaniards quitted La Cruz on the 15th of June, and gained the port of St. Anthony, with the intent of getting with greater ease out of the gulph, with the first north-westerly winds, which they could not do till the 1st of July.

The 16th of July they discovered, half a league to leeward, a shoal, which they calculate to be in lat.  $59^{\circ} 2'$  and long. \*  $147^{\circ} 46'$ . They at a great distance saw Mount St. Elias, whose summit they say equals that of Orisba in height.

The 17th, at noon, Cape St. Elias bore W.  $40^{\circ}$  N. at three leagues distance. Its latitude they estimate at  $59^{\circ} 53'$ , its longitude at  $149^{\circ} 20'$ . The charts represent an island in the vicinity of this cape: the point of this island nearest the cape bore N.  $18^{\circ}$  W. five leagues off. The two points formed between them a channel three leagues wide. From the cape the coast runs to the north, inclining a little towards the north-west. In this part they distinguished large bays, which they think must be well sheltered harbours.

This island, says Don Maurelle, is larger than is laid down in the charts. The Spaniards, being but half a league distant, discovered a shoal to the S. W.

They got sight, on the 18th, of a vast gulph W. of Cape St. Elias, ten leagues in depth. On the 20th two canoes of a singular construction came along side, very thin boards or planks form the wood work, which are attached to each other by indifferently strong cords, leaving however spaces between them; so that without the skin, it would make a true skeleton of a boat. This skeleton is surrounded completely with skins of animals, leaving a round aperture only at top, which serves as a girdle for him that manages the canoe, and to prevent the water from getting in at this

\* All the latitudes are to the N. the longitudes to the W. of Paris. We have already observed, that these longitudes cannot be depended upon.



orifice, the conductor cloathes himself with a skin made of bladders, tied exactly to fit the edges for the opening. These canoes, it is conceived, must be very light. Their form is exactly that of a harp, their prow having a similar curve to that whereon the strings of the harp are fastened.

The Indians who manage these canoes were cloathed with a skin jacket, which was a sufficient protection against the cold. Their hats resembled those of the inhabitants of the port of Bucarelli, large glass beads were the pendants they wore at their ears. Their fishing instruments are worked as if by a lathe with the greatest nicety, a great rod, blown up bladder, harpoon, the point of which is bone, and a long cord made with the entrails of animals properly twisted. They strike the otter or sea wolf with the harpoon, which thus struck attempts to dive, but is prevented by the bladder, and the Indian soon draws him within reach. The young Indians embarked at Bucarelli were desirous of communicating with these, but they neither understood the other. These two canoes induced the Spaniards to put in at the neighbouring coast, where they came to anchor the 20th of July at midnight, but early the next day they gained a creek which bore from them north, distant one league. They were sheltered from N.W. to the N. and S; a little further in they would have been protected from every wind. This port, which they named St. James's Harbour, lies in lat.  $60^{\circ} 16'$  and long.  $157^{\circ} 52'$ . To satisfy themselves whether they were near an island or continent, they sent off the long boat, which after having sailed six or seven leagues to the N. N. W. reported that the coast turned E. whence they concluded that the land near which we were at anchor was an island \*.

Six

\* Upon a thorough investigation, I think that this port is near Cape Hinchinbrooke. Cook took no observations about this Cape,  
Vol. I. m neither

Six canoes of Indians about 26 cubits long and 4 wide, lined with white skins, and by no means unlike the European boats in construction, paid a visit to the Spaniards. Before approaching, they hoisted three flags, the first of a carnatic colour, the second white, and the third blue; but they struck them before they came along side. Their wives accompanied them, whose sex is distinguished by glass beads or other baubles hanging from both sides of the mouth. They are in other respects nearly the same in dress as the women of Bucarelli.

The commandant having been once a fishing in the long-boat, it was very soon filled with fish of an agreeable flavour, which they called *pargo mulato*, but the fish of which there was the greatest abundance in those seas, is salmon, the *pargo mulato* being only plentiful in the little creeks which line the shore.

The Indians inhabiting this country are robust, tall, and large in proportion, industrious, and thieves. The points of copper with which all their arrows are tipped, made the Spaniards believe that there are mines of this metal in the country.

The 28th July our navigators weighed anchor to double a point which they saw in the S. W.  $50^{\circ}$  S. at 11 leagues distance (probably the southern point of Montagu Island). They wished not to lose sight of land, but the rain and fogs would not always permit them. They lay from the 30th to the 31st, when they found themselves in the vicinity of a group of islands extending from S. S. W. to S. S. E. They came to anchor on the 1st of August to the S. of one of these islands, which they named Isle de Regla (Rule

neither did Dixon. The long boat could have penetrated into the bay, which is called Rose Bay upon Dixon's Chart; and seeing it entirely closed to the E. its course might have been continued towards the coast running to the N. N. W. As for the rest, I think the transcriber may have written for longitude 157 min. 52 deg.; long. 153 min. 52 deg.—The manuscript abounds with faults.

Island)



Island). They place it in  $155^{\circ} 52'$  of longitude by account, and  $59^{\circ} 8'$  of latitude by observation \*. Don Maurelle is of opinion, that these islands form what on Bellin's chart, engraved in 1766, is called *Cape St. Ermogene*; the latitude is the same. The Russians observing this groupe at a distance, might not have seen the intermediate channels which divide it into several islands, and therefore taken it for a point of Terra Firma. The island of Regla had many others towards the south.

On the 3d of August the sky being clear, a mountain, certainly higher than the peak of Teneriff, entirely covered with snow, was seen to the N. W.  $7^{\circ}$  N. at more than 20 leagues distance. In the evening by twilight, it was observed to vomit torrents of thick smoke. The crater from whence these torrents issued was a little more easterly than the summit of the mountain; it was thought to be a volcano. Near this another was observed, very high, whereon was not the least appearance of snow; it bore W. N. W.  $8^{\circ}$  W. at the distance of 15 leagues. Two others were afterwards remarked, the bearing of the highest of which was W. S. W.  $4^{\circ}$  S. 13 leagues distant; the two latter, although high, were less so than the preceding ones, and they were notwithstanding entirely covered with snow.

On Regla Island were found some small huts, sea wolves just skinned, and a great number of birds' heads, but not a single inhabitant. After two or three days stay, a canoe appeared at one of the neighbouring

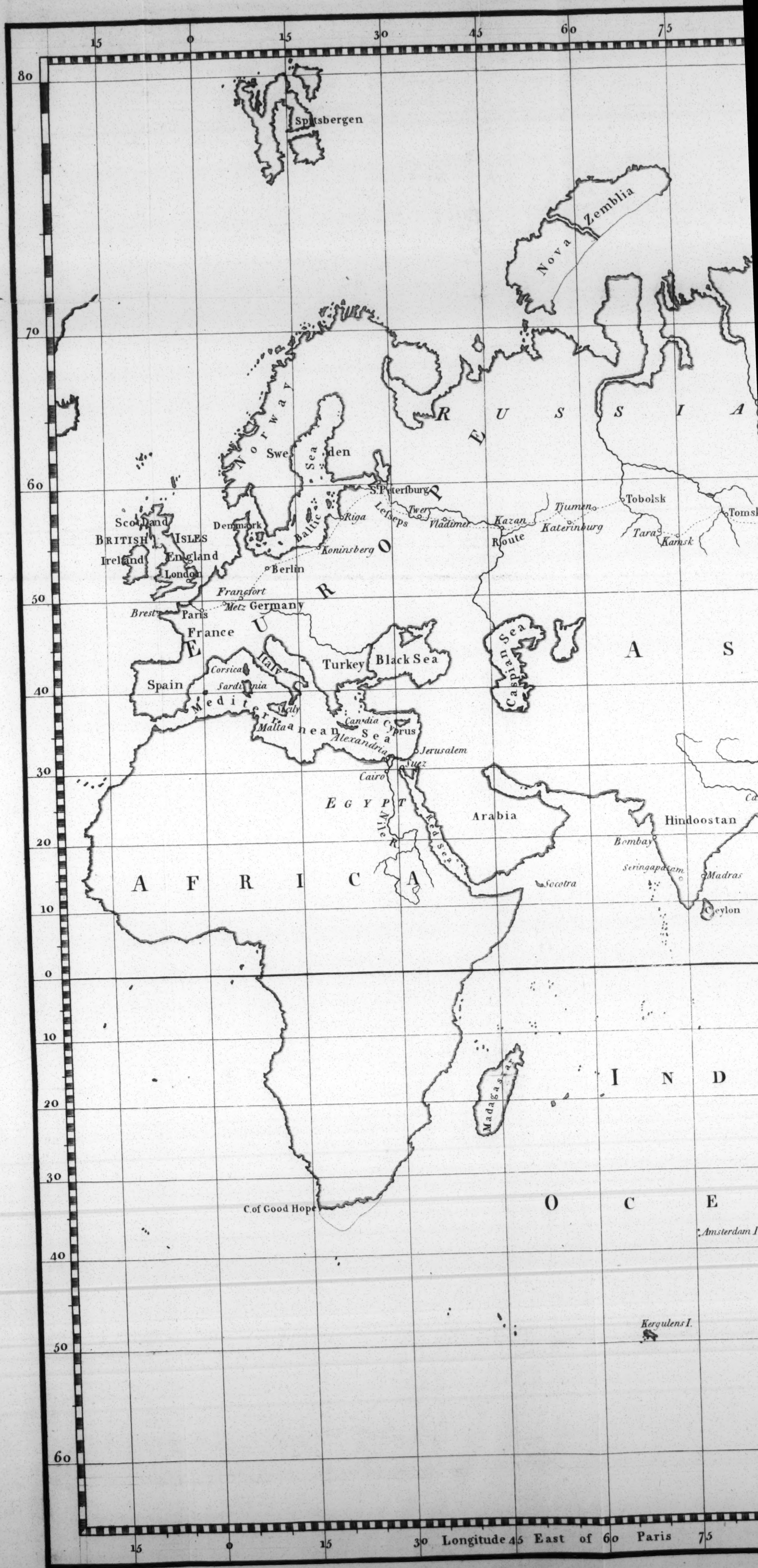
\* On the chart of Prince William's Sound (Cook's third voyage, vol. iii.) is a place that might be taken for the groupe of islands, of which the island of Regla makes a part; it is to the S. W. of Montagu Island, about lat. 59 min. 8 deg. long. 210 min. 30 deg. to 40 deg. E. of Greenwich (or 150 min. 40 deg. to 50 deg. W. of Paris). Cook passed about 15 leagues to the westward of these islands, Dixon as much to the east. These islands may not be high enough to be seen at this distance; they may also be more westerly than is imagined.

points. The Indians uttered some words, but would not come to the frigates. The expedition of the Spaniards terminated at this island, which they quitted the 7th of August, and anchored at St. Blas the 27th of November. From Cape St. Elias to the Island of Regla they took bearings with the greatest minuteness, of all the islands, capes, and bays which they recognized; but the winds and currents, very frequent, and violent, in these seas, drove them off the coast oftener than they would have wished, and was prejudicial to the accuracy of their estimated route. If, however, they publish the chart which they have constructed according to their bearings, their observations, in conjunction with those of Capt. Cook, La Perouse, and Capt. Dixon, will contribute in a considerable degree to bring the geography of that part of the coast of North America to perfection.



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# VOYAGE

## ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

1785, 1786, 1787, AND 1788.

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### CHAP. I.

OBJECT OF THE VOYAGE AND EQUIPMENT OF THE TWO FRIGATES; STAY IN BREST ROAD—PASSAGE TO MADEIRA AND TENERIFFE; STAY IN THOSE ISLANDS—EXCURSION TO THE PEAK—ARRIVED AT TRINIDAD—TOUCHED AT ST. CATHARINE'S ON THE COAST OF BRASIL.

THE voyage of Ellis to Hudson's Bay, in 1747, had by no means answered the expectation of those who had advanced the fund for that enterprize. Captain Bouvet, on the first of January, 1739, who thought he had discovered land in 54° south latitude, which it now appears probable was only a mass of ice, had, by this mistake, retarded the progress of geography, and the ancient spirit of discovery appeared almost extinguished. The makers of systems, who delineate continents and islands in the retirement of the closet, concluded that the pretended Cape Circumcision was the northermost point of the southern continent, the existence of which appeared to them necessary to the equilibrium of the globe \*. The

\* Those who maintain the existence of a southern continent, will deem the assertion of La Pérouse too bold. Yet, without pretending that Cape Circumcision belongs to a field of ice rather

The event of those two voyages might not unreasonably discourage individuals, who, from a mere spirit of curiosity, were sacrificing considerable sums to an object which had long ceased to attract the attention of the various maritime powers of Europe.

In 1764, England fitted out a new expedition, the command of which was entrusted to Commodore Byron. The accounts of that voyage, and those of Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, are generally known.

In the month of November, 1766, M. de Bougainville set sail from Nantes, with the *Boudeuse* frigate, and a pink called *l'Etoile*. Steering nearly

to than an island \*; without resolving the idle problem of a southern continent, since it must be situated in a latitude by which it will be for ever insulated from the rest of the globe, I shall observe, that the first voyages of Cook round the south pole have fully determined the question; and that the arguments of Le Monnier, to prove that Cook did not seek Cape Circumcision in its true longitude, are not of the least importance †. But while I am declaring my opinion in favour of the existence of a southern continent, I do not believe that continent necessary to support the equilibrium of the globe. What, indeed, could be the effect of so small a protuberance on so enormous a mass, when the least variation in the specific gravity of its internal component particles would be sufficient to counterbalance any inequality, however great, on its surface.

Though Captain Cook professes *a hope that no more will be said of a southern continent* ‡, it will perhaps be of service, some ages hence, to determine the progress which the ice may make towards the equator; and thus establish a proof of the ingenious theory of Buffon, that the earth is gradually losing its heat. But it will require many centuries to establish a probable system; for navigators have met with ice in a higher or lower latitude, at the same periods of different years. Those engaged in the whale fishery who go annually to Spitsbergen, have, it is said, once penetrated within one degree of the pole; and a passage to the north appears to have been navigated by Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado, of whom I shall elsewhere speak; but this has never since been met with by our most intrepid navigators, who have been constantly repulsed by the ice. *Note of the French Editor.*

\* Captain Cook having passed considerably to the southward of the land discovered by Bouvet, Cape Circumcision cannot possibly belong to a southern continent.

† See the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris for the year 1766, p. 665; the year 1779, p. 12; Cook's Second Voyage, vol. iv. p. 109, and following pages; Cook's Third Voyage, vol. i. p. 425, and following pages.

‡ Cook's Third Voyage, vol. iv. p. 120.



the same course as the English navigators, he discovered several islands; and the account of his voyage, written with animation, has not a little contributed to inspire the French with that taste for discovery which had just revived with so much energy in England.

In 1771, M. de Kerguelen was sent upon a voyage towards the southern continent, the existence of which no geographer at that time had even ventured to dispute. In December, of the same year, he descried an island: but the weather prevented him from completing his discovery. Full of the ideas which he entertained in common with all men of learning in Europe, he did not doubt but he had discovered a cape of the southern continent. His eagerness to announce this news, did not allow him for an instant to delay his return: and he was received in France as a second Columbus. A ship of the line and a frigate were immediately equipped to prosecute this important discovery. The choice of vessels so unusual for such an expedition, would alone be sufficient to demonstrate that enthusiasm had for a time banished reflection. M. de Kerguelen had orders to lay down a chart of the supposed continent he had discovered. The ill success of this second voyage is well known. Even Captain Cook, that first of navigators, could not have succeeded in a similar enterprize, with a ship of 64 guns, a frigate of 32, and 700 sailors. He, perhaps, would have declined the command, or obtained a more suitable equipment. At length M. de Kerguelen returned to France with as little information as before, and discoveries were no longer pursued. The king died in the course of the last expedition, and the war of 1778 directed every attention to far different objects. It was not, however, forgotten that our enemies had the Discovery and Resolution at sea; and that Captain Cook, labouring

labouring to enlarge the sphere of our knowledge, deserved to be considered as a friend by all the nations of Europe\*.

The principal object of the war of 1778 was to secure the tranquillity of the seas, and was accomplished in 1783. The same spirit of justice which had recourse to arms to procure for the flags of those nations which were weakest by sea an equal respect with those of France and England, should, during peace, be directed to whatever is most conducive to the felicity of mankind. The sciences, by softening our manners, have contributed more perhaps than the laws themselves to the welfare of society.

The voyages of the various English navigators, by which the sphere of science was enlarged, had merited the just admiration of the whole world. Europe had paid due veneration to the great talents and exalted character of Captain Cook: but, in a field so vast, succeeding ages will but furnish new objects of science to develope. Strange coasts will long remain to be explored; plants and trees of new kinds; birds and fish of unknown species are yet to be described; minerals to be analyzed; volcanos to be investigated, and nations to be studied; on whom, perhaps, we may bestow new means of happiness. For, to the inhabitants of the South Sea, a new species of fruit, or a farinaceous plant, which we may

\* Every consideration engages me here to recal to view a fact equally glorious to the French, and to him who became the object of their urbanity, amid the horrors which the policy of war renders necessary.

At the period of hostilities against England, in 1778, orders were issued to all ships of war that should meet the *Discovery* and *Resolution*, commanded by Captain Cook, to let them pass without interruption; and so far from treating them as enemies, to furnish them with every needful supply.

Thus it is that a great nation manifests a religious respect for useful discoveries, and for the improvement of science. *French Editor.*

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introduce among them, are benefits of inestimable value\*.

. These reflections suggested the project of a voyage round the world ; and learned men of every description were employed in the expedition. M. Da-

\* But can the advantages to be derived from a new farinaceous plant, a new species of fruit, or even the introduction of domestic animals stand in comparison with that mass of evils which must result to these people from the introduction of European customs and manners ?

Examining this problem in the different views of philosophy, of policy, or even of religion, considering what they now enjoy ; and well persuaded that new desires can only spring from a knowledge with which they are yet unacquainted ; we must, I think, most ardently wish that they may long continue to enjoy that felicity, that unalterable tranquillity which can only be founded on the satisfaction of the heart, the tender pleasures of sentiment, the unrestrained enjoyment of sympathy, and an obedience to the laws of nature and simplicity.

The following passages, extracted from Cook's third voyage, come in support of my opinion :

“ When the Adventure arrived first at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in 1773, Mr. Bayly fixed upon this place for making his observations ; and he, and the people with him, planted several spots with English garden seeds. Not the least vestige of these now remained. — Though the New Zealanders are fond of this root (the potatoe), it was evident that they had not taken the trouble to plant a single one (much less any of the other articles which we had introduced) ; and if it had not been for the difficulty of clearing ground where potatoes had been once planted, there would not have been any now remaining.” Vol. i. p. 125.

“ These two Chiefs became suitors to me for some goats and hogs. I gave to Matahonah two goats, a male, and female with kid ; and to Tomatongeauooranne two pigs, a boar and a sow. They made me a promise not to kill them ; though I must own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux sent on shore here, and which soon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead. Vol. i. p. 131.

“ He said (i. e. Taweharooa) that the Captain of her, during his stay here, cohabited with a woman of the country ; and that she had a son by him about the age of Kokoa ; who, though not born then, seemed to be equally well acquainted with the story. We were also informed by Taweharooa, that this ship first introduced the venereal disease among the New Zealanders. I wish that subsequent visitors from Europe may not have their share of guilt, in leaving so dreadful a remembrance of them amongst this unhappy race.” Vol. i. p. 141.

gelet, of the Academy of Sciences, and M. Monge\*, both Professors of Mathematics in the Military School, were appointed astronomers; the former embarked on board the Bouffole, and the latter in the Astrolabe.

To M. de Lamanon, of the Academy of Turin, and corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences, was allotted the department of Geology or natural history of the earth and atmosphere; the Abbé Mongès, Canon of St. Geneviève, Editor of the *Journal de Physique*, analyzing and examining minerals, and generally to superintend the different branches of natural philosophy. M. de la Martinière, Doctor of Physic, graduated at Montpellier, was appointed by M. de Jussieu to the botanical department. He was assisted by M. Collignon, one of the King's gardeners, who, on the recommendation of M. Thouin, was to cultivate and preserve the plants and seeds we might be able to bring back with us to Europe. Messrs. Prevost, uncle and nephew, were engaged to make drawings of the various objects of natural history. M. Dufresne, a great naturalist, and very expert in classing the different productions of the earth, was appointed for that purpose by the Contrôller General. And, lastly, M. Duché de Vancy received orders to paint the dresses, landscapes, and in general whatever cannot, as it often happens, be otherwise described. All the learned bodies of the kingdom were upon this occasion earnestly desirous of testifying their zeal for the improvement of the arts and sciences. The College of Physicians and the Academy of Sciences each addressed a memorial to the Marshal de Castries, on the most important objects for our attention during the expedition.

\* The health of M. Monge became so bad from Brest to Teneriffe, that he was obliged to return to France.



The Abbé Teffier, of the Academy of Sciences, proposed a method of preserving fresh water from corruption. M. du Fourni, Military Architect, furnished observations on trees, and the method of taking the level of the sea. M. le Dru addressed to us a memorial, directing our attention to the variations of the compass in different latitudes and longitudes; and presented us with a dipping-needle constructed by himself, the indications of which he requested us to compare with those of the two dipping-needles, sent us by the British Board of Longitude. I ought also to express my gratitude to Sir Joseph Banks, who having been informed that M. Monneron could not procure a dipping-needle in London, was pleased to lend us those which had been used by the celebrated Captain Cook, which I received not without a sentiment of religious respect for that great man.

M. Monneron, Captain in the corps of engineers, who had attended me in my expedition to Hudson's Bay, embarked as principal engineer. His friendship for me, as well as his partiality for the sea, induced him to solicit this appointment. He was engaged to lay down bearings and draw plans. M. Bernizet, geographical engineer, was his assistant in this department.

In fine, M. de Fleurieu, an old naval Captain, superintendant of the ports and arsenals, himself drew up the necessary charts for the voyage; in addition to which he furnished us with a complete volume of notes and disquisitions of great learning, upon the different navigators from the time of Columbus to the present day. This public testimony of gratitude is due to him for the information he has communicated to me, and the friendship of which he has given me such repeated proofs \*.

The

\* The arts and sciences will share most deeply in the regret which all Europe must feel for the loss of our navigators. The

The Marshal de Castries, Minister of Marine, who had recommended me to the King for this command, had given strict orders at the different ports that we should be supplied with every thing requisite to ensure the success of the voyage. Lieutenant General d'Hector, who commanded the fleet at Brest, entered into his views, and attended to the particulars of my equipment with as much zeal as if he himself was to have conducted the expedition.

Being indulged with the choice of all the officers, I appointed to the command of the *Astrolabe*, M. de Langle, a Captain in the navy, who had commanded the *Astrée* in my expedition to Hudson's Bay, and had given, on that occasion, the strongest proofs of talents and exalted character. A hundred officers proposed themselves to M. de Langle and myself for this expedition: and all whom we selected were distinguished for their scientific accomplishments. On the 26th of June my instructions were sent me; and on the first of July I set off for Brest, where I arrived on the 4th, and found the equipment of the two frigates in a very forward state. The embarkation of different stores had been suspended, because it was necessary for me to choose between articles of exchange with the savages, and provisions with which I would gladly have stocked myself for several years. I gave the preference to articles for barter, thinking they might procure us fresh provisions; when those on board would be nearly spoiled by keeping. We had also on

immense collection made by their learned coadjutors, and a part of their notes have perished with them. This voyage, highly interesting in its present state, would have presented a most valuable whole, had it not been for this tragical event. If any hope be still permitted, its rays are very feeble, and every day destroys the small remains we are yet willing to cherish.

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board the frame of a decked boat \*, of about 20 tons burthen, two Biscay shallops †, a spare main-mast, a rudder check, and a capstan. In short, my ship contained an incredible quantity of stores. M. de Clonard, my first Lieutenant, had stowed them with that zeal and intelligence of which he has afforded such frequent proofs. The *Astrolabe* had taken on board exactly similar articles. We were in the road on the 11th; but our vessels were so encumbered that it was impossible to heave at the capstan. We took our departure, however, in a fine season, and were in hopes of reaching Madeira without meeting with bad weather. M. d'Hector ordered us to take in harbour moorings, that we might have nothing to do, but slip our cables when the wind should permit us to sail.

On the 12th we were reviewed. The same day, the astronomical clocks by which when in harbour we were to verify the daily rate of the time-keepers, were put on board. These had been accurately observed for a fortnight. Messrs. Dagelet, and Monge, with the other men of science and the artists had reached Brest before me; Messrs. de Langle and d'Escures had observed the rate of the time-keepers before the arrival of the two astronomers; but unfortunately the astronomical clock by which they were regulated, was found so bad, that it was necessary to begin the whole process anew.

In the evening of the 13th, M. Dagelet sent me the following note:

“Upon our arrival at Brest we found an astronomical station established in the garden belonging to the Commissioner's house, where Messrs. de Langle

\* A very strong kind of flat-bottomed vessel, used in Holland and Flanders, well calculated for inland navigation. *French Editor.*

† *Barca longa*, long boats, very narrow at the extremities, and fit for navigating a swelling sea. *French Editor.*

and

and d'Escures were engaged in making observations, in order to ascertain the rate of the time-keepers. But as the instruments of the Academy of Brest, and particularly the astronomical clocks they had used, were in the very worst state, they found it necessary to refer every comparison of the time-keepers to No. 25\*, which was in the observatory. When our instruments were set up on shore, I determined the rate of my clock by the altitude of the sun and stars; every day comparing the time-keepers, No. 18 and 19, by means of signals from on board, and of which I drew up the following table:"

| Days of the Month. | No. 18.                                             |     |   | No. 19.                                              |     |   |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----|---|------------------------------------------------------|-----|---|
|                    | LOSS OF TIME<br>according to mean<br>Time at Paris. |     |   | LOSS OF TIME.<br>According to mean<br>Time at Paris. |     |   |
| 28th June          | 36'                                                 | 48" | 8 | 27'                                                  | 51" | 0 |
| 30 ib.             | 37                                                  | 7   | 1 | 27                                                   | 47  | 7 |
| 1st July           | 37                                                  | 19  | 0 | 27                                                   | 45  | 0 |
| 2 ib.              | 37                                                  | 31  | 0 | 27                                                   | 44  | 2 |
| 3 ib.              | 37                                                  | 39  | 5 | 27                                                   | 45  | 4 |
| 4 ib.              | 37                                                  | 51  | 8 | 27                                                   | 44  | 0 |
| 5 ib.              | 38                                                  | 5   | 0 | 27                                                   | 42  | 0 |
| 6 ib.              | 0                                                   | 0   | 0 | 27                                                   | 42  | 1 |
| 7 ib.              | 38                                                  | 36  | 7 | ditto                                                |     |   |
| 8 ib.              | 38                                                  | 49  | 3 | ditto                                                |     |   |
| 9 ib.              | 39                                                  | 3   | 0 | 27                                                   | 48  | 8 |
| 10 ib.             | 39                                                  | 13  | 6 | 27                                                   | 42  | 5 |
| 11 ib.             | 39                                                  | 27  | 0 | flopped                                              |     |   |
| 12 ib.             | 0                                                   | 0   | 0 | 0                                                    | 36  | 6 |
| 13 ib.             | 0                                                   | 0   | 0 | 0                                                    | 36  | 4 |

The westerly winds detained us in the road 'till the first of August; during which time we had fogs

\* All the time-pieces on board the two frigates were invented and constructed by Ferdinand Berthoud, who has distinguished them by numbers.—*French Editor.*

and



and rain, and though I was fearful lest the health of the crews should suffer from the humidity of the weather; yet, in 19 days, we only put one man on shore, who was in a fever.

I set sail from Brest-road on the first of August. Nothing interesting occurred on my passage to Madeira, where we anchored on the 13th. The wind had been constantly fair, a circumstance exceedingly favourable to our vessels, which, from having too much weight forwards, steered very badly. During the fine nights of this passage, M. de Lamanon noticed those luminous particles in the salt water, which proceed, in my opinion, from the decomposition of marine substances. Were this light produced by insects, as many natural philosophers assure us, they would not be spread in such profusion from the pole to the equator, and would be most abundant in particular climates \*.

No sooner had we cast anchor at Madeira than Mr. Johnston, an English merchant, sent on board my ship a boat-load of fruit. Several letters of recommendation from London had previously reached him, which

\* According to the result of the experiments presented by Rigaud, in 1768, to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, we cannot doubt the existence of polypi, or luminous animals in sea-water. I cannot discover on what La Pérouse can rest an assertion combated by Godeheu, who observed near the Maldives and on the Malabar coast, places where the sea is more luminous than in the parts of which our navigator speaks, and that the water was covered with small luminous animals, discharging an oily liquor which swam upon the surface and emitted a phosphoric light when agitated.

I therefore believe the existence of these animalculæ, supported by the observations of Nollet, Roy, Vianelli, Grifellini, &c. I am also of opinion, that the phosphoric oil of certain fish arriving at the surface of the water, produces, in part, the luminous appearances observed throughout the surface of the ocean.

In support of my opinion I shall cite the effect of the oil of the bonita, which becomes luminous when agitated. I may also refer to the observations of Forster upon the phosphoric light of sea-water, at the end of Cook's second voyage; and those of Lalande, *Journal des Savans* 1777. *French Editor.*

greatly

greatly excited my astonishment, as I was entirely ignorant of the persons by whom they were written. A kinder reception than Mr. Johnston gave us, we could not expect from our own friends and relations. Having paid our visit to the governor, we went to dine with this gentleman, and the next day breakfasted at the delightful seat of Mr. Murray, the English Consul, from whence we returned to the town, and dined with M. Moutero, who was Chargé des Affaires of the French Consul. During the whole of that day, we enjoyed every pleasure the most select company or the most marked disposition to oblige, could afford, and were at the same time filled with admiration by Mr. Murray's beautiful villa. From the prospects presented by this charming situation, our attention could only have been diverted by the consul's handsome nieces, who soon convinced us no kind of beauty was wanting to this enchanting spot. Had not unavoidable circumstances prevented, it would have afforded us great pleasure to have passed some days at Madeira, where we had met with so polite a reception. But the object of our going on shore could not then be accomplished. The English having raised the wine of this island to an exorbitant price, we could procure none for less than 13 or 14 hundred livres per ton, though it was sold for six hundred livres at Teneriffe. I therefore ordered every thing to be prepared for our departure next day, which was the 16th of August. The sea-breeze did not subside till six in the evening, when we immediately got under sail. I also received from Mr. Johnston a great quantity of fruits of various kinds, a hundred bottles of Malmsey, half a hoghead of dry wine, some rum, and some preserved lemons. The most flattering civilities from this gentleman, distinguished every moment of my stay at Madeira.

We reached Teneriffe after a passage of only three days, and anchored there on the 19th, at three  
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in the afternoon. On the 18th, in the morning, I made Salvage island, the eastern part of which I ranged at the distance of half a league. It is very healthy; and though I had no occasion for sounding, I am persuaded there are a hundred fathoms water within a cable's length of the shore. There is not a single tree on this island which is not entirely parched up, and appears to be formed of strata of lava, and other volcanic matter. We took several bearings to determine its direction.

The observations of Messrs Fleurieu, Verdun and Borda, leave nothing to be accomplished with regard to the islands of Madeira, Salvage and Teneriffe. The sole object therefore of ours was to verify our instruments, and the rate of our time-keepers, which had been determined by M. Dagelet at Brest, with so much accuracy, that we could rely upon them for the longitude during several days. Our landing at Madeira was very convenient for ascertaining what degree of exactitude we might expect from them. The longitude we had observed in sight of land, and referred to that of the town of Funchal, did not differ more than three minutes of a degree from that determined by M. Borda. The short stay we made in this island, did not allow us to erect an observatory. Messrs Dagelet, d'Escures, and Boutin, only made some sketches from the bearings taken when at anchor, which I have not laid down, as they may be found in many printed voyages. We were employed on the 18th of August in taking observations off Salvage island; and I think its longitude may be fixed in  $18^{\circ} 13'$  west, and its latitude in  $30^{\circ} 8' 15''$  north.

Upon my first arrival at Teneriffe, I employed myself in establishing an observatory on shore. Our instruments were set up there the 22d of August, and we ascertained the rate of our astronomical clocks by correspondent altitudes of the sun or stars, in order, as soon as possible, to verify the motion of the  
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time-keepers belonging to the two frigates. The result of our observations, provided that the error of No. 19, had only been 18" too slow, since the 13th of July, the last day of our observations at Brest; that our watches, No. 19 and No. 25, had also been too slow; the former 1' 0" 7, and the latter no more than 28": thus in the space of three and forty days, the greatest error was but a quarter of a degree of longitude. After some days of uninterrupted observations and comparisons, we established the daily motion of these clocks. M. Dagelet found that No. 19 gained about 2", 55 in 24 hours; No. 29 about 3" 6; and No. 25 about 0" 8. It is upon these principles this astronomer has drawn up the table of their apparent motions, paying due regard to the corrections required by the variations which different temperatures produce, according to the degrees of the thermometer and of the arches of the balance wheel. M. Dagelet had his doubts on the mode of constructing the table of variation for No. 19, according to the few data furnished by the experiments made at Paris. He thought it would be very advantageous for those who make use of time-keepers, that the number of experiments should be augmented, and fewer terms left uncalculated, in the intermediate steps which he has been obliged to pursue, in order to obtain these data; especially where the arches of the balance would enter into this species of correction, which renders a table by double entry necessary, and leaves a doubt respecting the manner in which the ordinates of the curve should vary. He made experiments on the simple pendulum on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of August, and observed the number of oscillations in a given time, in order to determine the force with which bodies gravitate in different latitudes. Several observations of latitude and longitude were made at Santa-Cruz, in Teneriffe, which, we think, may be fixed at 18° 36' 30" west longitude, and 28° 27' 30"

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30" north latitude. At length we concluded our labours by experiments on the dipping-needle. But we found little agreement in the results, and only mention them to prove how far this instrument still remains from the degree of perfection necessary to procure it the confidence of astronomers. We presume, however, that the quantity of iron with which the soil of Teneriffe is impregnated has greatly contributed to the extraordinary variations we remarked.

On the 30th of August I set sail with the wind blowing fresh from north-north-east. We had taken on board each ship sixty pipes of wine: and were obliged to unstow half our hold, in order to get at the empty casks destined to contain it. This took up ten days; a delay which was, in fact, occasioned by the dilatory conduct of those who supplied us with this wine from Orotava, a small town on the other side of the island.

I have already given an account of the manner in which the astronomers employed their time. Our naturalists also wished to improve theirs while they remained in the road of Santa-Cruz; and therefore set off for the Peak with several officers of both ships. M. de la Martinière collected herbs in his way, and found many curious plants. M. de Lamanon measured the height of the Peak with his barometer, which at the summit of the mountain fell to 18 inches, 4 lines  $\frac{1}{2}$ : while by an observation made at Santa-Cruz, at the same moment it was at 28 inches 3 lines. The thermometer which at Santa-Cruz indicated 24 degrees and a half, was at the top of the Peak, stationary at 9°. I leave every one at liberty to calculate the height; for this method is so loose, that I prefer giving the data without the results\*. M. Monneron, Captain of the corps of Engineers,

\* Those who would wish to make the calculations will find the data

Engineers, also made an excursion to the Peak, in order to take its level as far as the sea, which was the only mode of measuring this mountain that had not yet been attempted. Local difficulties, if not absolutely insurmountable, were unable to stop him, as he was extremely conversant in these pursuits. He found that the natural obstacles were much less than his imagination had suggested. For, in one day he had completed every thing in which there was any difficulty. He had reached a kind of plain, very elevated, but easy of access, and in prospect beheld with the greatest joy the termination of his labours, when he experienced, on the part of his guides, difficulties which it was impossible to vanquish. Their mules had not drunk for three days; and neither entreaties nor money could induce their drivers to continue their stay. Thus when he considered his labour almost finished, was M. Monneron obliged to leave imperfect a work which had cost him incredible pains, and considerable expence; for he had been obliged to hire seven mules and eight men to carry his baggage, and assist him in his operations. In order, however, not entirely to lose the fruit of his labour, he determined the principal points, and one day more would now be sufficient to complete the level, and afford a conclusion more satisfactory than any hitherto produced by all the different travellers.\*

data here omitted in every work of experimental philosophy. But if they wish to calculate with some degree of accuracy in this method of measuring elevations, at best very liable to error, they should not omit such corrections as relate to the temperature of the air. The difference of the logarithms of the heights of the barometer in lines gives the height in toises at 16 degrees and a quarter of the mercurial thermometer, on which the point of boiling water is 80 degrees. The two hundred and fifteenth part should be subtracted for every degree of cold. See De Luc, Enquiries on the Modification of the Atmosphere.—*French Editor.*

\* The work of Monneron here announced has not reached our hands.

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VOL. I.



The Marquis Branciforte, Governor General of all the Canary Islands, and Field Marshal, never ceased to shew us the greatest marks of friendship during our stay.

We were unable to depart before three o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th of August, and were still more encumbered with stores than at our departure from Brest. But these were diminishing every day, and we had nothing but wood and water to procure 'till our arrival at the Islands of the South Sea. With these two articles I intended to provide myself at Trinidad; for I determined not to touch at the Cape de Verd islands, which at this season are very insalubrious, and the health of the crews was of the first importance. To preserve this I gave orders to fumigate between-decks, and the hammocks to be taken down every day from eight o'clock in the morning 'till sun-set. But that every one might have sufficient time for sleep, the crew was divided into three watches, so that eight hours of rest succeeded to four of labour. Having no more hands

hands. There is reason to believe he had left his operations in such a state as to be prosecuted by any other traveller. I imagine he made use of the water-level, notwithstanding the inconvenience of this instrument on very steep declivities. If his operations had been finished, he would have decided the dispute between those who, measuring the Peak each his own way, have assigned it very different heights.

However defective, however tedious and difficult this mode of measuring heights may be, these inconveniences vanish before one much in the habit of such employments. It is evident it cannot require more than a thousand stations; and supposing, though almost impossible, an error of three lines in each station, that these errors should not be mutually corrected, and that they should be always *plus*, or always *minus*, a thing still less possible; there would at last be an error of only three thousand lines, or 20 feet 10 inches French. This difference, though barely possible, is nothing when compared with that of the various travellers. For Heberdeen ascribes to the Peak a height of 2,409 fathoms or fathoms; Feuillée (*Memoires of the Academy of Sciences* for the year 1746, p. 140) 2,213. Bouguer 2,100, and Verdun, Borda, and Pingré, 1,904. *French Editor.*

on board than were indispensibly necessary, this arrangement could only take place in calm weather; and I have been under the necessity of reverting to the ancient custom when sailing in stormy seas. Nothing remarkable occurred during our passage as far as the line. The trade-winds left us in 14 degrees N. lat. and blew constantly between W. and S. W. 'till we reached the line, and obliged me to run down the coast of Africa, which I did at the distance of 60 leagues.

We crossed the line on the 29th of September, in 18° of W. longitude. I could have wished, as my instructions were, to have passed it more to the westward; but fortunately the wind drove us always to the eastward, otherwise it would have been impossible to have made Trinidad, the wind being S. E. at the line, and continuing there 'till we reached 20° 25' N. latitude: so that I always kept close to the wind, and was unable to get into the latitude of Trinidad nearer than about 25 leagues to the east of that island. Had I made Pennedo de S. Pedro \*, I should have found great difficulty in doubling the eastern point of Brasil. I passed, according to my reckoning, over the shoals, on which the ship *Le Prince* thought she had touched in 1747. We had no indication of land, except some birds called frigates, which followed us in pretty large flights from the 8th degree of N. to the 3d degree of S. latitude. During all that time our ships were surrounded by tunnies, of which we took but few, they being so large and heavy, that all our fishing lines broke with their weight. Each of those we caught weighed at least sixty pounds.

The dread which some navigators entertain of being, at this season, becalmed under the line, is found-

\* To touch at this island was no part of my instructions, it being only suggested as advantageous, if it should not lie out of my track.



ed in error. We were not a day without wind, and only once had rain; when, indeed, it was so abundant as to fill 25 casks.

The fear of being driven too much to the eastward into the bottom of the gulf of Guinea is equally chimerical. The S. E. wind is soon met with, and even drives ships too rapidly to the westward; so that had I been better acquainted with this navigation, I should have steered away more large with the S. W. wind which constantly prevailed to the N. of the line, and I should then have crossed it in the latitude of 10 degrees. This circumstance would have permitted me to run, with a free wind, on the parallel of Trinidad. A few days after our departure from Teneriffe, we left those serene skies only found in the temperate zones; instead of which, a dull whiteness, between fog and cloud, always prevailed. The horizon was contracted within less than three leagues; but after sun set the vapour was dissipated, and the nights were constantly fine.

On the 11th of October we took many of observations of distances between the sun and moon, in order to ascertain the longitude, and prove the rate of our time-keepers. By the mean result of ten observations taken with quadrants and sextants, we found our longitude  $25^{\circ} 15' W.$  That indicated by the time-keeper, No. 19, at three in the afternoon, was  $25^{\circ} 47'.$  We afterwards repeated the same sort of observations.

On the 12th, about four o'clock in the afternoon, the mean of our observations gave  $26^{\circ} 21',$  and at the same moment the time-keeper, No. 19, gave  $26^{\circ} 33'$  for the longitude of the ship. On comparison, it appears that the longitude indicated by the time-keeper, No. 19, is 12 minutes more to the W. than that obtained by observation. By these operations we have fixed the longitude of the islands of Martin-Vas and Trinidad. We have also ascer-

tained their latitudes with great exactness, not only by taking the sun's meridian altitude with precision, but also a great number of altitudes near the meridian, and reducing them all to the true time from noon, inferred from corresponding altitudes. The greatest error arising from this method cannot exceed 20 seconds.

On the 16th of October, at ten in the morning, we descried the islands of Martin-Vas five leagues to the N. W. They ought to have been seen in the west, but the currents had driven us 13 miles to the southward in the night. The winds unfortunately having blown, till then, constantly from the S. E. obliged me to make several boards, in order to near those islands, which I passed at about the distance of a league and a half. Having accurately determined their situation, and taken several bearings to enable me to delineate relative positions on the chart, I hauled close to the wind, on the starboard tack, steering for the island of Trinidad, distant from Martin-Vas about nine leagues W. by S. These islands of Martin-Vas are, in fact, mere rocks; the largest of which may perhaps be a quarter of a league in circumference: there are three little islands, separated from each other by small intervals, which, seen from a distance, appear like five heads.

At sun-set I made the island of Trinidad, bearing W.  $8^{\circ}$  N. The wind being constantly at N. N. W. I passed the night in standing off and on, keeping to the E. S. E. of the island. When day appeared I continued on the land tack, hoping to find smoother water, under shelter of the island. At ten in the morning I was but two leagues and a half from the S. E. point, which bore N. N. W.; and I perceived, at the extremity of the creek formed by that point, a Portuguese flag hoisted in the middle of a small fort, surrounded by five or six wooden houses. The sight of this flag excited my curiosity; and I determined



terminated to send a boat on shore to procure intelligence concerning its cession and evacuation by the English. For I already began to perceive, that at the island of Trinidad I could procure neither the wood nor water wanted. A few trees only could be perceived on the summit of the mountains. The sea broke every where so violently, that it could not be supposed a boat could easily land. I therefore resolved to beat up with the wind on the beam all day, in order to be at day-break sufficiently to windward to gain the anchorage, or, at least, to send my boat on shore. At night I hailed the *Astrolabe* to apprize her of my intended manœuvre; and added, that we should observe no order in tacking, as, at sun-rise, the creek of the Portuguese establishment was to be our rendezvous. I instructed M. de Langle, that whichever of our ships should be nearest the shore, should send a boat to ascertain the resources this port might offer. The next morning, October 18th, the *Astrolabe* being but half a league from shore, sent off her long boat under the command of M. de Vaujuas the lieutenant, accompanied by M. de la Martinière and Father Receveur, an indefatigable naturalist. They went quite up the creek, between two rocks. But the surf was so great, that the boat and her crew would infallibly have been lost, but for the prompt assistance of the Portuguese, who hauled the boat upon the beach to shelter it from the fury of the sea. Every thing was saved excepting a small anchor. At that station M. de Vaujuas counted about two hundred men, of whom 15 only were in uniform, the rest in their shirts. The governor of this establishment, which being quite uncultivated, is not worthy the name of a colony, told him the governor of Rio Janeiro had, about a year before, caused possession to be taken of the island of Trinidad. He either did not or pretended not to know, that it had been previously in possession of the English;

lish; but we cannot depend much on any thing mentioned to M. de Vaujuas in this conversation. The governor, who thought himself under the necessity of disguising the truth on every subject, pretended that his garrison consisted of 400 men, and that his fort was defended by 20 pieces of cannon; though we are certain there was not a single battery in the establishment. This officer so much dreaded our discovering the miserable state of his government, that he would never permit M. de la Martinière and father Receveur to leave the beach in search of plants. After having manifested to M. de Vaujuas every external mark of politeness and good-will, he pressed him to return on board, assuring him the island produced nothing; that supplies of provisions were sent every six months from Rio-Janeiro; that he had scarcely a sufficiency of wood and water for the garrison: and even these he was obliged to procure at a great distance on the mountains. His detachment, however, assisted us in launching our long boat.

At day-break I sent a boat on shore under the command of lieutenant Boutin, accompanied by Messrs de Lamanon and Monneron; but I forbade M. Boutin to land, if the *Astrolabe's* boat had arrived before him: in which case he was to sound the road, and make as accurate a survey as possible in so short a time. Accordingly M. Boutin did not approach within musket-shot of the shore; and in all his soundings he met with a rocky bottom, mixed with a small portion of sand. M. Monneron took a drawing of the fort with as much exactness as if he had been on the beach; and M. de Lamanon was near enough to perceive that the rocks were nothing but basalt<sup>e</sup>s\*, or substances that had been in a state of fusion, the remains of some extinguished volcanos.

\* A stone of a close texture and brilliant fracture, strikes fire with a flint, and may be used as a touch-stone.



This opinion was confirmed by father Receveur, who brought on board a great number of stones, all volcanic, as well as some of the sand, which was only found mixed with fragments of shells and coral. As, according to the report of M. Vaujuas, and M. Boutin, it was evident we could not, at the island of Trinidad, get either the wood or water we wanted, I determined immediately to steer for the island of St. Catharine on the coast of Brasil. This was the place where the French ships, bound for the South-sea, used formerly to touch; and at which Frézier and admiral Anson found an abundant supply for all their wants. In order not to lose a single day, I gave St. Catharine's the preference to Rio-Janeiro, where the necessary formalities would have consumed too much time. But, in shaping my course for St. Catharine's, I wished to be assured of the existence of the island of Ascension, which M. Daprès has placed 100 leagues W. of Trinidad, and only 15 miles more to the southward. According to the Journal of M. Poncel de la Haye, who commanded the *Renommée*, I was certain several navigators, and among others Frézier, a very well informed man, thought they had landed on Ascension island, when, in reality, they had only been on that of Trinidad. Notwithstanding the authority of M. Poncel de la Haye, I conceived this point of geography required fresh illustration. The two days we passed to the southward of Trinidad, enabled us to take bearings from which M. Bernizet delineated the plan of the south-side of the island. It differs but little from that of Doctor Halley, which had been sent me by M. Fleurieu. The view painted by M. Duché de Vancy is so remarkably accurate, that it will alone prevent any navigators that may land on the south side of Trinidad from falling into an error. That island presents to the eye nothing but a rock almost naked and barren; where no verdure, no shrubs, are

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seen but in the narrow defiles of the mountains. It is in one of these vallies to the S. E. of the island, which is only about 300 toises broad, that the Portuguese have formed their establishment.

Nature had never designed this rock to be inhabited, for it can furnish neither men nor animals with subsistence. But the Portuguese are fearful lest some European nation may avail themselves of its vicinity to establish a smuggling trade with Brazil: and to this motive alone we must ascribe the eagerness they have discovered to seize upon an island, which, in every other point of view, must be a mere burthen.

Latitude of the largest of the Martin-Vas isles,  $20^{\circ} 30' 35''$  south.

Longitude, by lunar observations  $30^{\circ} 30'$  west.

Latitude of the south-east point of the island of Trinidad,  $20^{\circ} 31'$  south.

Longitude, by lunar observations,  $30^{\circ} 57'$  west.

On the 18th of October, at noon, I stood to the westward for the island of Ascension till the night of the 24th, when I abandoned the search. I had then run 115 leagues west; and the weather was sufficiently clear to see 10 leagues a-head. Thus, I may aver that having directed my course on the parallel  $20^{\circ} 32'$  with a view north and south of, at least, twenty and having laid-to every night, after the first 60 leagues, when I had run the distance perceived at sun-set—I say, I may aver that the island of Ascension exists not from the meridian of Trinidad to about seven degrees west longitude, between the latitudes of  $20^{\circ} 10'$ , and  $20^{\circ} 50'$ , my view having embraced the whole of that space.\*

On

La Pérouse may be right in advancing that navigators have erroneously imagined they landed on Ascension Island, while, in fact, they touched at that of Trinidad. Not attending to the resemblance which runs through the former descriptions of these

two

\* I have referred to the Bougainville account of the two



On the 25th of October we experienced a most violent storm. At eight in the evening we were surrounded by an horizon of fire; while lightning burst from every part of the heavens. A cone \* of fire appeared on the point of the conductor: a phenomenon which was not confined to our ship: for the *Astrolabe*, not being furnished with a conductor, had also the

two islands, proves that they have committed this error. For, from these charts, they might indifferently suppose they were on the one or the other, their latitude being nearly the same, and their longitude very imperfectly ascertained. But these proofs are not sufficient for the enlightened geographer; whereas the authentic testimony of Daprès, in his *Neptune Oriental*, page 10, and the minute and very different plans which Dalrymple has given of these two islands and appearance, prove, beyond doubt, they are not the same.

Had La Pérouse felt greater confidence in the materials furnished him, he might on this subject have made a very easy calculation.—The W. long. of the north coast of Trinidad, was there fixed at 32. 15; and he himself found that of the S. E. point no more than 30° 57'.

According to the meridian of Rio-Janeiro, which is fixed at 45° 5', the coast of America, under this parallel, may be calculated at 43° 30'. Daprès fixes the longitude of Ascension Island at 38°, because he believes it to be 120 leagues from the coast. We have reason to think it is still nearer. Hence, it is evident, La Pérouse has not pushed his researches far enough, and that having sailed about seven degrees upon this parallel, after his departure from Trinidad, he abandoned his object at the very moment of its attainment.

To the data of these two authors, so valuable on account of their exactness, whom I have just cited, I shall add, that since writing this note I have accidentally met with a navigator (Lépine, a half-pay Lieutenant) who has touched at both these islands, and who, not being provided with instruments, to determine their longitude with precision, has only fixed their latitude.

That of Trinidad at . . . . . 20° 22'

That of Ascension at . . . . . 20° 30'

He thinks the latter 120 leagues from the coast of Brazil.

\* I am not in the least astonished that a ball of fire should also have rested on the mast-head of the *Astrolabe*, knowing from the accounts of La Pérouse, that this ship was never out of hail of the Boussole. Every one knows that when the electric fluid enters by a point, it appears as a spark, but in flying off from one has

the same appearance on her mast-head. From that day the weather was constantly foul till our arrival at St. Catharine's; and we were enveloped in a fog thicker than those on the coast of Brittany in

has the appearance of a luminous cone. The earth is the grand reservoir of electric matter, and water is its best conductor. It appears then that when a low cloud, negatively electrified, passes over a vessel, the masts and yards serve as conductors, and we see conic fire from all the extremities directed towards the cloud.

It is evident that a vessel furnished with a conductor, must have at its point a cone of a much more beautiful appearance, on account of its chain, which has a direct communication with the sea; while without that instrument it only communicates the fluid, by means of tarred wood, which is a very bad conductor.

On the same principle we may sometimes observe electric fire on the surface of the sea, of which the following experiments are a convincing proof, and may be depended on, as I have frequently performed them in my closet.

Electrify a quantity of water in a vase of glass or metal; but, in the latter case, place it upon an insulated stool. Then, in the dark, present your finger to the surface of the water, not close enough to draw sparks, but so as to make the water rise, when a luminous cone will arise in the direction of your finger.

In this experiment the finger produces the effect of a cloud. But it will be said, perhaps, that the sea does not, like the basin, contain a superabundant quantity of electric matter. Should this argument leave any doubt, the following experiment may be made:

Take a metal basin filled with water; let this basin communicate with the earth, by means of a chain or any other conductor; electrify strongly the outside of the Leyden vial, by which the inside will be electrified negatively: place this vial upon an insulated stool, that you may be able to take hold of it by the outside without discharging it. Then present the knob of the bottle at a certain distance from the surface of the water, as you did your finger in the former experiment, and you will produce the same effect.

If in the first experiment, instead of your finger you make use of the knob of the vial electrified *minus*, you will produce a stronger effect, as the electric fluid will make a greater effort to escape from the water when electrified *plus* into the vial, which is electrified *minus*.

This principle once laid down and demonstrated, will develop the theory of electric vapours producing explosion, which are much more frequent than is generally imagined. But this digression, which has no connection with the subject, would lead me too far.—*French Editor.*

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the midst of winter. We cast anchor on the 6th of November, between the island of St. Catharine and the continent, in seven fathom water, with a bottom of oozy sand. The middle of the island of Alvaredo then bore north-east, Fleming's Island south by east, and the island of Gal north.

Though our voyage had now continued ninety-six days, we had not one man on board sick. The change of climate, the rains and fogs, had produced no effect on the health of the crews. But our provisions were of excellent quality; for I had neglected no precaution that experience or prudence could suggest. We did our utmost to keep up their chearfulness, and encouraged them to dance every night from eight till ten, whenever the weather would permit.

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## CHAP. II.

DESCRIPTION OF ST. CATHARINE'S—OBSERVATIONS  
AND EVENTS DURING OUR STAY—DEPARTURE  
FROM ST. CATHARINE'S—ARRIVAL AT LA CONCEP-  
TION.

THE island of St. Catharine extends from  $27^{\circ} 19' 10''$ , to  $27^{\circ} 49'$  south latitude; and its breadth from east to west is not more than two leagues in the narrowest part. It is separated from the continent only by a channel of 200 toises in width. On the point at the mouth of this strait is built the city of Nossa Senhora del Desterro, the capital of this commandery, where the governor resides. It contains, at most, 3000 inhabitants, and about 400 houses; and wears a very agreeable appearance. According to Frézier's account, this island served, in the year 1712, as an asylum for a set of vagabonds, who escaped thither from different parts of Brazil,  
and

and were but nominally subject to Portugal, as they acknowledged no lawful authority. The country is so fertile that they were able to subsist without any supplies from the neighbouring colonies; and as they were destitute of money, they could neither offer a temptation to the avarice of the governor general of Brazil, nor inspire him with a hope of subduing them. The vessels which touched there gave them nothing in exchange for provisions but clothes and shirts, of which they were almost destitute. Not till towards the year 1740 did the Court of Lisbon establish a regular government in St. Catharine's, and the parts adjacent on the continent. This government extends from north to south 60 leagues, from the river St. Francisco to Rio-Grande. Its population amounts to 20,000; but I have seen so great a number of children in some families, that I think it will soon be more considerable. The soil is extremely fertile, and produces, almost spontaneously, all sorts of fruits, vegetables and grain. It is covered with trees that are always green; but so intermixed with briars and thorns, that the forests are impassable, without cutting a way with the hatchet; besides which they are infested with serpents whose bite is mortal. Their houses both on the island and continent, are all on the edge of the sea: and the woods, which surround them, yield a most delightful fragrance, from the abundance of orange-trees, and other aromatic plants and shrubs, with which they abound. But, notwithstanding these advantages, the country is very poor, and absolutely destitute of manufactures; insomuch, that the peasants are almost naked, or covered with rags. Their soil, which would be very suitable for the cultivation of sugar, cannot be employed for that purpose without slaves, whom they are not rich enough to purchase. The whale-fishery is very productive, but the crown has conferred an exclusive right to it on a company at Lisbon.



Lisbon. This company has, upon the coast, three great establishments, where they take about 400 whales every year, the produce of which, both in oil and spermaceti, is sent to Lisbon; by way of Rio-Janeiro. Of this fishery the inhabitants are merely spectators, for it yields them no profit; and if the government do not relieve them, and grant them immunities or other encouragements, one of the finest countries on the face of the globe will languish for ever in the depression of poverty, and become useless and burdensome to the mother-country.

The approach of ships to St. Catharine's is very easy. Eighteen leagues in the offing there are 66 fathoms water, over a bottom of soft mud, gradually shoaling till within four cables length of the shore, where there is still four fathoms water.

The ordinary channel is between the island of Alvaredo and the north point of St. Catharine's: but there is another between the islands of Gal and Alvaredo, which however requires yet to be explored. Our boats were so much employed during our stay, that I could not take the soundings. The best anchorage is half a league from Fortress Island, in six fathoms, oozy bottom, the citadel bearing S.  $3^{\circ}$  W. the fort on the larger point S.  $6^{\circ}$  E. There are several watering places both on the island and the continent; and that creek may be chosen where the wind renders the landing most easy. This consideration is of great importance; for the navigation of boats is very difficult in this harbour, which is two leagues wide as far as the bight where the town stands: and there is a violent surf always breaking on the lee-shore. The tides are very irregular: and the flood comes in between the two channels lying north and south. Up to this bight it rises but three feet.

It appeared that our arrival had spread great terror through

through the whole country. The different forts fired several alarm guns, which determined me to cast anchor early, and send my boat on shore with an officer, to make known our pacific intentions, and our want of water, wood, and refreshments. M. de Pierrevert, whom I employed on this occasion, found the little garrison of the citadel under arms, consisting of 40 soldiers, commanded by a captain, who immediately dispatched an express to the city, to Governor Don Francisco de Baros, Brigadier General of Infantry. He had been apprized of our expedition by the Lisbon Gazette; and a bronze medallion that I sent him left no doubt respecting our object in touching there. The most precise and speedy orders were issued, that every thing necessary should be furnished us at a fair price: and an officer appointed to each frigate, who was entirely at our command. We sent him with the clerks of the commissary of stores to purchase provisions of the inhabitants. On the 9th of November I removed nearer the fortress, from which I had hitherto been at some distance. I went, the same day, with M. de Langle and several officers, to pay a visit to the commander of this post, who saluted me with 11 discharges of cannon, which were returned by my ship. Next day I sent my boat, under the command of Lieutenant Boutin, to the city of Nossa-Senhora del Desterro, to make my acknowledgements to the Governor for the great abundance his attentions procured us. Messrs. de Monneron, de Lamanon, and the Abbé Mongès, accompanied this officer, together with M. de la Borde Marchainville, and Father Receveur, who had been dispatched by M. de Langle for the same purpose; they were all received with the utmost politeness and cordiality.

Don Francisco de Baros, governor of this commandery, spoke French with perfect ease, and his comprehensive knowledge inspired us with the fullest confidence. Our friends dined with him, and were informed



informed at dinner, that the supposed island of Ascension had no real existence, although the Governor-General of Brasil had, upon the testimony of M. Daprès, dispatched a vessel the preceding year to survey all the points formerly laid down as parts of that island; and the captain of the vessel having found none of them, it had been expunged from the charts, that an ancient error might not be perpetuated\*. He added, that the island of Trinidad had always formed a part of the Portuguese possessions, and that the English had evacuated it on the first requisition of the Queen of Portugal; the English minister adding that the nation had never given its sanction to this establishment, which was no more than a private adventure.

At eleven o'clock the next day, the boats of the Astrolabe and Bouffole returned, and announced an early visit from the Major-General of the colony, Don Antonio de Gama, who did not however arrive till the 13th, when he brought me a most obliging letter from the Governor. The season was so far advanced that I had not a moment to lose. Our crews enjoyed the finest health, and I had flattered myself on my arrival that I should provide for all our wants, and be ready to set sail in five or six days. But the southerly winds and the currents were so violent, that all communication with the land was

\* It would be injurious to the improvement of navigation, and fatal to navigators, to adopt this method of effacing from our charts, islands formerly discovered, because they have been sought in vain, or their position uncertain, through paucity of the means of laying them down accurately at the period of their discovery.

I ought to oppose this method the more earnestly as I have proved the existence of Ascension island. In thus effacing islands from the globe, we become, in some measure, responsible for the dangers incurred by navigators when they fall in with them, lulled into security by their charts; whereas, if laid down, though uncertain, yet by rousing the attention of the navigator, they may assist him more easily to find them.—*French Editor.*

frequently

frequently interrupted; a circumstance which retarded my departure.

I had chosen St. Catherine's in preference to Rio-Janiero, merely to avoid the ceremonious formalities of great cities, which always occasion a loss of time. But experience taught me that this harbour united several advantages. Provisions of every kind were extremely plentiful; a large ox cost eight piaftres, a hog of 150 lb. weight cost four, and turkeys were sold for a piaftre the pair. We had only to throw the net in order to draw it up full of fish. Oranges were brought on board and sold to us at the rate of 500 for less than half a piaftre, and vegetables were also very reasonable. The following fact will give some idea of the hospitality of this good people. My boat having been overfet by the surf, in a creek where the crew were cutting wood, the inhabitants who assisted in saving it, obliged our sailors who had been cast away, to go into their beds; sleeping themselves on mats in the middle of the room, which was the scene of this affecting hospitality. A few days after, they brought on board the sails and masts of the boat with its grapnel and flag, objects of great value in their estimation, and which would have proved of the utmost utility in their canoes. This people are good, obliging, and of gentle manners; but they are very superstitious, and jealous of their wives, who never appear in public.

Our officers shot many birds of most brilliant plumage, among others a Rollier, a bird of a remarkably fine blue; which, though not described by Buffon, is very common in this country.

Not having forseen the obstacles which detained us twelve days in the road, we did not land our astronomical clocks, supposing we should not lie at anchor more than five or six days; a circumstance which, however, caused but little regret, as the sky was constantly cloudy. We therefore determined the

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the longitude of this island by the moon's distance from the sun, and according to our observations, the most north-easterly point in St. Catherine's; may be fixed in  $49^{\circ} 49'$  W. longitude, and  $27^{\circ} 19'$  S. latitude.

On the evening of the 16th, every thing being on board, I sent my packets to the Governor, who had undertaken to send them to Lisbon, where I addressed them to M. de Saint-Marc, our Consul-general; every one being permitted to write to his family and friends. We flattered ourselves with setting sail the next day, but the north wind which would have been so favourable to us had we been out at sea, detained us in the bottom of the bay till the 19th of November. I then weighed at break of day, but the calm obliging me to cast anchor again for some hours, I did not clear all the islands till night.

We had purchased at St. Catherine's oxen, hogs, and poultry sufficient for the ship's crew for more than a month, and had added some orange and lemon trees to our collection, which ever since our departure from Brest, had been well preserved in cases made at Paris under the eye and direction of M. Thouin. Our gardener was also furnished with the seeds of oranges and lemons, grains of rice, maize and cotton, and in general every species of esculent plant, of which navigators have described the inhabitants of the South Sea to be destitute, and which are more analogous to their climate and mode of living than the pot-herbs of France, of which we also carried an immense quantity of seeds.

The day of my departure I sent to the Astrolabe new signals of much greater extent than those we had hitherto used. We were going to navigate in the midst of fogs, and in the most stormy seas; circumstances which required additional precautions. It was also agreed with M. de Langle, that in case

of separation our first rendezvous should be Port Success, in the Straits of Le Maire, supposing us not to have already passed beyond its latitude by the 1st of January, and the second, Venus Point, in the Island of Otaheite. I further informed him, that I should limit my researches in the Atlantic Ocean to l'Isle Grande de la Roche, having no longer time to seek a passage to the southward of the Sandwich islands. I then regretted extremely that I could not begin my researches to the eastward; but I did not dare to pursue a measure so contrary to the plan adopted in France, because in that case I could nowhere have received the Minister's letters which had been announced to me, and which might contain the most important instructions.

The weather was very fine till the 28th, when it blew a very heavy gale from the east, for the first time since our departure from France; and I saw with infinite pleasure that if our ships sailed very badly, they behaved very well in foul weather, and would be able to withstand the rough seas we had to encounter. We were then in  $35^{\circ} 24'$  south latitude, and  $43^{\circ} 40'$  west longitude: I steered E. S. E. because I proposed in my search after l'Isle Grande to get into its latitude ten degrees to the eastward of the place assigned it in the different charts. I did not shut my eyes to the extreme difficulties I should have to struggle with; but, in all events, I was under the necessity of running very far to the westward in order to reach the Straits of Le Maire; and all the way I should make on that point of the compass, pursuing the parallel of l'Isle Grande, brought me nearer the coast of Patagonia, the soundings of which I was obliged to take before I doubled Cape Horn. The latitude of l'Isle Grande not being perfectly determined, it was more probable I should meet with it in plying between  $44$  and  $45^{\circ}$  of latitude than if I steered a direct course in  $44^{\circ} 30'$ , as I might do

\* If maps were signed his position defective canals, the in the po



in sailing from west to east, the wind blowing as constantly from the west in these latitudes as from the east between the tropics.

It will presently be perceived that I derived no advantages from these considerations, and that after 40 days fruitless research, during which I met with five heavy gales of wind, I was obliged to direct my course for my ulterior destination.

On the 7th of December I was on the pretended parallel of l'Isle Grande in  $44^{\circ} 38'$  S. latitude, and  $34^{\circ}$  W. longitude, according to a lunar observation taken the preceding day, when we saw a species of the seaweed called goémon pass us, and were for many days surrounded with birds of the albatross and petrel kind, which never approach the land but in the season for laying.

These feeble indicia of land, however, kept our hopes alive, and reconciled us to the dreadful seas we were navigating. But I was not without disquietude when I considered that I had  $35^{\circ}$  to run back to the westward, as far as the Straits of Le Maire, which it was of great importance to reach before the end of January.

I kept plying between  $44$  and  $45^{\circ}$  S. latitude, till the 24th of December, and ran down  $15^{\circ}$  of longitude on this parallel, and in the 27th of December abandoned my attempt, being convinced the Island of La Roche, had no existence\*, and that the goémon and petrels by no means prove the vicinity of land, since I met with sea-weeds and birds till I made the coast of Patagonia. The chart on which our daily run is traced will exhibit the track I followed

\* If l'Isle Grande de la Roche could have been placed in the maps with more certainty, la Pérouse in traversing the parallel assigned him, might have been assured that it did not exist. But as its position has never been exactly determined, on account of the defective journals of Anthony de la Roche, and Vesputius Americanus, the researches of La Pérouse only prove that it does not exist in the position indicated.—*French Editor.*

much more clearly than these details, and I am convinced that navigators who may succeed me in this research will not be more fortunate than myself: but they ought not to pursue this course except when they are steering E. towards the Indian Ocean, where it is not more difficult or more tedious to run  $30^{\circ}$  on this parallel than on any other; and if they find no land they will at least have pursued a course approaching the object. I am persuaded l'Isle Grande, like that of Pepis, has merely a chimerical existence\*, and that the report of La Roche, who pretended to have seen great trees there, is void of all probability. It is very certain that in  $45^{\circ}$  nothing but shrubs can be found upon an island placed in the midst of the southern ocean, since not a single large tree is to be found on the islands of Tristan d'Acunha, a latitude infinitely more favourable to vegetation.

On the 25th of December, the wind settled in the S. W. quarter, and continued there several days, which obliged me to steer W. N. W. and quit the parallel I had constantly followed during 20 days. As I had then passed the point assigned in all the maps to l'Isle Grande de la Roche, and the season was far advanced, I determined to steer that course which would most accelerate my progress to the westward, much fearing lest I should be exposed to double Cape Horn in the stormy season. But the weather was more favourable than I hoped. The heavy gales ceased with the month of December, and the month of January was nearly as pleasant as that of

\* I know that New Georgia, as mentioned in the Journal of La Roche, has again been found, but I am much in doubt whether we ought to ascribe to him the honour of this discovery. According to his Journal there is a strait of ten leagues between the Isle of Birds and Georgia, while in reality this strait is not more than one league; a mistake too great for the most inexperienced mariner to make, had he been speaking of the same place. It is however from the former place the departure should be taken, in order to place l'Isle Grande between  $43^{\circ}$  and  $44^{\circ}$  of longitude, for I have crossed every meridian from  $35$  to  $50^{\circ}$  without discovering it.



July on the coasts of Europe. The wind only blew from the N. W. and S. W. But we were able to carry all our sails; and these changes of the wind were always so distinctly announced by the appearance of the sky, that we were certain of the moment when the wind was going to shift, and were thereby enabled to run on the most advantageous tack. The moment the horizon became hazy, and the sky cloudy, the S. W. wind shifted to the west, and two hours afterwards it came round to the N. W.: on the contrary when the haziness disappeared we were sure the wind would not be long before it came round by the W. to the S. W. I do not believe that during 66 days sailing the wind veered from N. to S. by the E. more than 18 hours.

We had some days of calm weather, with a smooth sea, during which the officers of both frigates formed shooting parties in the boat, and killed a considerable quantity of fowls with which we were almost always surrounded. This sport, which was generally productive, procured fresh provisions for the crew, and it often happened that we killed a sufficient quantity to make a general distribution. The sailors not only preferred them to salt meat, but I believe they contributed infinitely more to keep them in good health.

In our different excursions we killed nothing but albatrosses of the large and small kind, with four varieties of petrels. These birds when skinned and highly seasoned were nearly as good as the wild ducks eaten in Europe. They have been well described by the naturalists who accompanied Captain Cook, and are the same as those of which Messrs. Banks, Solander, and Forster have given the most satisfactory descriptions.

At length on the 14th of January we came into the soundings of Patagonia, in  $47^{\circ} 50'$  S. latitude, and  $64^{\circ} 37'$  W. longitude, according to our last lunar ob-

servations, for which we never suffered any opportunity to escape, when the weather was favourable. The officers of the ship were so accustomed to it, and seconded M. Dagelet so assiduously, that I do not believe our greatest error in longitude could exceed half a degree.

On the 21st we made Cape Fair-Weather, on the north point of the river Gallegos, on the coast of Patagonia, being three leagues from the land in 41 fathoms water, over a bottom of small clayey stones about the size of peas. Our longitude determined at noon, differed from the chart in Cook's second voyage only 15', which we were more to the eastward. We sailed along the coast of Patagonia at a distance of between three and five leagues from shore.

On the 22d at noon we set Virgin's Cape, bearing four leagues west. This land is low and without verdure. The view of it given by the editor of Admiral Anson's Voyage appeared to me very exact, and its position is determined with perfect accuracy in the chart of Cook's second voyage.

The soundings as far as Virgin's Cape always bring up soft mud, or those small stones mixed with ooze, which are generally found in a line with the mouths of rivers. But on the coast of Terra del Fuego we had always a rocky bottom, and only from 24 to 30 fathoms water, though at the distance of three leagues from the land, which makes me think this coast is not so bold as that of Patagonia.

The charts of Captain Cook have determined with the most perfect accuracy the latitude and longitude of the different capes of this coast.

The bearings of the coasts are delineated from exact surveys, but the minutiae, in which consists the security of navigation, have not been attended to with sufficient care. Neither Captain Cook nor any other navigator can answer for more than the tracks



tracks they have followed, and the soundings they have taken; and it is possible that in smooth water they may have passed by banks and shoals, which did not then break, so that this navigation requires infinitely more caution than that of our European continents.

I have entered into these particulars with a view to point out the degree of confidence to be placed in these sort of charts, doubtless the most accurate that can be constructed in a rapid passage over a great extent of sea. It was impossible for the old navigators, before the method of taking lunar observations, to approach this degree of precision, which is such, that within 20 minutes, I can rely upon the points we have verified, as fully as on the longitude of the observatories of London and Paris.

On the 25th, at two o'clock, I had Cape St. Diego bearing south one league, that being the western point of the Straits of Le Maire. I had since the morning kept at that distance from the shore, and followed on Captain Cook's chart the bay where Mr. Banks landed in search of plants, while the Resolution waited for him under sail.

The weather was so favourable that it was impossible for me to shew the same compliance to our naturalists. At three o'clock I entered the strait, having doubled point St. Diego at the distance of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a league, where there are breakers which I believe do not extend more than a mile: but, having observed the sea to break more in the offing, I steered S. E. that I might increase my distance from the breakers. I soon perceived this appearance was occasioned by the currents, and that the reefs of Cape St. Diego were at a considerable distance.

As it blew fresh from the northward, and it was in my power to approach Terra del Fuego, I ran along it half a league from the shore. The wind was so favourable, and the season so far advanced, that I determined im-

mediately to give up the idea of touching at Success Bay, and endeavour to double Cape Horn. I considered that it was impossible to provide every thing I wanted in less than ten or twelve days, and that this time had been absolutely necessary at St. Catherine's; because, in these open bays where the sea breaks with violence on the shore, for half the day boats cannot land. If to these inconveniences were added the south winds, which might have for some time detained me in Success Bay, the favourable season would elapse, and I should expose my ship to dangers, and my crew to fatigues, very prejudicial to the success of the expedition.

These considerations determined me to steer for the island of Juan Fernandez, which lay in my course, and where I could procure wood and water, with some refreshments far superior to the penguins of the freight. At this time I had not one sick man on board. Four score casks of water remained unbroached, and Terra del Fuego has been so often visited and described, that I could not flatter myself with adding to what had been already said of it.

During our passage through the strait of le Maire, the savages, according to custom, kindled great fires, to induce us to anchor. We observed one on the north point of Success Bay, and another on the north point of Valentine's Bay. I am persuaded, with Captain Cook, that ships may anchor indifferently in all these bays. There is plenty of wood and water, but doubtless less game than at Christmas harbour, on account of the savages who frequent them great part of the year.

While navigating this strait about half a league from Terra del Fuego, we were surrounded by whales, who, it is evident, had never been disturbed, for our ships did not at all alarm them. They swam majestically within pistol shot of us, and will remain sovereigns of these seas, till fishermen wage

on



on them the same war as the adventurers of Greenland do in the north. There is not, perhaps, a better spot on all the globe for this fishery. Vessels would find anchorage in excellent bays, abounding in wood and water, as well as some antiscorbutic herbs and sea-fowl, and their boats, without quitting them more than a league, might take all the whales they wanted to complete their cargoes. Their only inconvenience would be the length of the voyage, which would require nearly five months for the passage out, and the same home; and, I believe, these latitudes can only be frequented during the months of December, January, and February.

We were unable to make any observations respecting the current of the straits, for we entered them at three o'clock in the afternoon, when the moon was 24 days old, and they carried us with violence to the southward till five, when the tide changed. But as we had a fresh breeze from the north, we stemmed it with ease. The horizon was so foggy towards the east, that we had not perceived Staten island; from which, however, we could not be five leagues distant, that being the whole breadth of the strait. But we had passed so near Terra del Fuego, that we observed with our telescopes some savages lighting great fires, their only means of communicating their desire of inviting vessels on shore. Another motive yet more powerful, determined me to abandon my design of putting into Success Bay. For I had been a long time forming a new plan, on which I could not determine till after I had passed Cape Horn.

My design was to go to the N. W. coast of America that year; a route which, although I had received no such instructions, I knew had only been suppressed through fear that I should not have time to perform so long a voyage before winter: for this plan would otherwise have united a great number of advantages. In that case I should pursue a  
new

new route, and cross latitudes, where I might possibly discover many unknown islands. I should also visit much sooner all the places of my destination, for which a stay of two years had been allotted in the northern, and two in the southern hemisphere, my instructions expressly permitting me to execute his Majesty's commission in the manner which should appear to promise most success to the expedition; for the final adoption of my plan, therefore, I only waited to know at what time I should arrive in the South Sea.

I doubled Cape Horn with much greater facility than I expected: though I am now convinced that this navigation is not more hazardous than any other in these high latitudes. The dangers we dreaded were only the chimerical offspring of an ancient prejudice, which ought no longer to exist, and which the reading of Anson's voyages contributes not a little to support among navigators.

On the 9th of February I was off the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, in the South Sea, steering for Juan Fernandez. By my reckoning I had passed over the supposed situation of the land which Drake pretended to have discovered; but I lost little time in search of it, being convinced it did not exist. Since my departure from Europe, the tracks of the ancient navigators had occupied all my thoughts. But their Journals are generally so ill compiled, as to afford little more than hints and conjectures; and those geographers who are not seamen, are generally ignorant of these matters, and unable to investigate, with critical accuracy, accounts which require a strict and distrustful examination. Consequently they have laid down islands which never existed but in charts, and, being mere phantoms of the imagination, soon disappeared before our modern navigators.

In 1578, five days after his departure from the Straits of Magellan, Admiral Drake met with very heavy



heavy gales of wind in the great southern ocean, which continued near a month. It is difficult to follow him on his various courses, but at length he touched at an island in  $57^{\circ}$  S. latitude, where he landed and remarked great flights of birds. Then, running to the northward for the space of 20 leagues, he fell in with other islands inhabited by savages possessed of canoes. These islands produce wood and antiscorbutic plants. Who but would recognize, from this description, Terra del Fuego on which Drake landed; and, probably, on the island of Diego Ramires, which lies nearly in the latitude of Drake's pretended island? At that time Terra del Fuego was unknown. Le Maire and Schouten had not discovered the strait which is named after them, till 1616; and the general opinion before that time had always been, that there existed in the southern, as well as in the northern hemisphere, a continent which extended to the neighbourhood of the poles. The southern part of America was thought to be intersected by straits, one of which, like Magellan, they supposed they had discovered. These erroneous ideas were calculated to mislead Admiral Drake, who was carried by the currents 12 or 15 degrees to the eastward of his reckoning, as it has happened since to a great number of other navigators in the same latitudes. This opinion, so probable in itself, amounts to a certainty, when we reflect that a ship of the same squadron which had stretched to the northward, while the Commodore stood to the southward, re-entered the Straits of Magellan which it had just quitted: an evident proof that it had made no way to the westward, and that Admiral Drake had not passed beyond the longitude of America. We may add, that it is extremely improbable that an island so far from the continent, and in  $57^{\circ}$  latitude, should be covered with trees, when none are to be found on Falkland's islands, which are situated only in  $53^{\circ}$ ; that neither

ther on these last, nor on Staten Island, which is separated from the continent by a strait of only five leagues wide, is there a single inhabitant ; and, lastly, the description which Drake gives of the savages, their boats, trees and plants, suits the Pecherais so well, and in general coincides so exactly with every other account of Terra del Fuego, that I am unable to conjecture why Drake's Island still preserves its place on the maps.

The W. S. W. winds, therefore, being favourable for my getting to the northward, I did not suffer time so precious to be lost in this vain research, but continued my route to Juan Fernandez. But on examining my stock of provisions, I found we had very little bread and flour, having been obliged, as well as M. de Langle, to leave 400 quarters at Brest for want of stowage. The worms also had got into the biscuit ; not that they had rendered it uneatable, but had reduced the quantity about a fifth. On these considerations I preferred Conception Bay to the island of Juan Fernandez, well knowing that part of Chili to abound in grain, which was cheaper there than in any part of Europe, and that I should there find all other provisions in plenty, and at the most reasonable price. I therefore shaped my course somewhat more to the eastward.

The 22d, in the evening, I made the island of Mocha, which is about 50 leagues to the south of La Conception. Fearing I should be carried by the currents too much to the northward, I had been induced to haul in for land ; a precaution which I now think was needless, it being sufficient to get into the latitude of the island of Santa Maria, which it is necessary to make, taking care however not to approach it nearer than about three leagues, on account of the sunken rocks that extend very far out from the north-west point of the island.

When



When that point is doubled you may range along the land, there being no longer any hidden danger, except within a small distance of the shore. At the same time you are in sight of the Mamelles de Biobio, two mountains of which the name indicates the shape. It is necessary to steer a little to the northward of the Mamelles for the point of Talcaguana. This promontory forms the western limit of Conception Bay, which extends about three leagues from east to west, and as many in depth from north to south. But the mouth of the bay is contracted by the island of Quiquirina, which is situated in the middle and forms two entrances. Of these the eastern passage is the safest and most frequented, being about a league broad; whereas that to the west, between the island of Quiquirina and the point of Talcaguana does not exceed a quarter of a league, and is full of rocks, through which a passage ought not to be attempted without a very skilful pilot.

Soundings are found upon the coast from the island of Santa Maria to the entrance of Conception Bay. Three leagues in the offing we found 70 fathoms water over a bottom of black mud; and 30 fathoms in the bay, in the direction of E. and W. From the north point of the island of Quiquirina the soundings gradually decreased to seven fathoms within two musket shots of the land. There is excellent anchorage in all parts of this bay, but there is no shelter from the north winds except off the village of Talcaguana.

We doubled the point of the island of Quiquirina at two in the afternoon, but the south winds which had hitherto been so much in our favour were now become contrary. We therefore made several boards, taking care to keep our lead going. We looked for the town of Conception with our telescopes, which from the chart of Frézier we knew must lie to the south-east, and in the bottom of the bay, but could not

not discover it. At five, in the evening, pilots came on board, who informed us, that town had been destroyed by an earthquake in 1751, and did not then exist: and that the new town had been built on the river Biobio, three leagues distant from the sea. From these pilots we also learnt, that our arrival was expected at La Concepcion, letters from the Spanish Minister having already reached them. We continued working to windward, to approach the bottom of the bay; and at nine P. M. we anchored in nine fathoms water, about a league to the N. E. of the anchorage of Talcaguana, whither we were to remove in the morning.

About ten o'clock that evening, M. Postigo, a captain in the Spanish navy, came on board my ship, with a message from the commandant of La Concepcion. He slept on board, and, at day break, departed, to give an account of his mission, having first suggested to the pilot we had taken on board, the most convenient place for us to anchor. Before he took horse, however, he sent us some fresh provisions, fruits, and pulse in greater abundance than was necessary even for the whole crew, whose healthful appearance seemed to excite his surprise. No vessel perhaps had ever doubled Cape Horn, and arrived at Chili, without having several sick on board, and there was not one in either of our ships.

At seven in the morning we weighed, and being towed in by our boats, we dropped anchor in the creek of Talcaguana, at 11 A. M. on the 24th of February, in seven fathoms water, over a bottom of black mud, the middle of the village of Talcaguana bearing S.  $21^{\circ}$  W. Fort St. Augustin S. and Fort Galves near our watering place N. W.  $3^{\circ}$  W.

Since our arrival on the coast of Chili, we had every day taken lunar observations. Our longitudes differed very little from those laid down by Don George Juan. But as we had reason to believe our present method of taking them very superior to



to that made use of in 1744, we shall lay down the northermost point of the island of Santa Maria, in  $37^{\circ} 1' S.$  lat. and  $75^{\circ} 55' 45'' W.$  long. and the middle of the village of Talcaguana in  $36^{\circ} 42' 21'' S.$  lat. and  $75^{\circ} 20' W.$  long. according to the observations made by M. Dagelet from our astronomical tents, erected by the sea side.

The plan delineated by Don George Juan is made with so much accuracy, that we had only to verify it; but Mr. Bernizet, our geographical engineer, added a part of the course of the river Biobio, in order to shew the situation of the new town, and the road leading to it.

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### CHAP. III.

DESCRIPTION OF CONCEPTION BAY—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS — DEPARTURE FROM TALCAGUANA—ARRIVAL AT EASTER ISLAND.

**T**HE bay of Conception, is one of the most commodious that can be found in any part of the world. For though the tide rises six feet three inches, the water is smooth, and there is scarcely any current. It is high water here at the full and change of the moon, at 45 minutes past one. The bay is open only to the north winds, which never blow but in the winter—that is, from the end of May to October. In this season also the rains fall, and continue throughout the monsoon, for so we may denominate constant winds, which are succeeded by others from the south, that continue to blow for the rest of the year, and are accompanied with fine weather. The only anchorage, sheltered from the N. E. winds, in the winter, is before the village of Talcaguana, on the south-west side.

At

At present there is no other Spanish settlement in this bay, the ancient town of Concepcion, as I have already mentioned, having been destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. It then stood at the mouth of the river St. Pierre, on the east of Talcaguana, and its ruins are still to be seen, though unlike the remains of ancient magnificence in the other hemisphere. Their duration will be short, the buildings of this country being only of clay, or bricks baked in the sun, and the roofs covered with scallop tiles, as in the southernmost provinces of France.

After the destruction of this town, which, during the earthquake, was rather swallowed up by the sea than by the land, the inhabitants dispersed, and encamped in the environs. It was not till 1763 that they made choice of another spot, situated about a quarter of a league from the river Biobio, and three leagues from the ancient town of Concepcion, and the village of Talcaguana. On this spot they built a new town, to which the bishopric, the cathedral, and the religious houses were transferred. The houses consisting but of one story, that they may be the better able to resist the shock of earthquakes, which occur in these parts almost every year; this town occupies a great extent of ground.

The inhabitants are about 10,000; and here is the residence of the bishop and a colonel of horse, who is the military governor. The bishoprick is nominally bounded on the north by that of Sant-Jago, the capital of Chili, where the governor general resides; and on the east by the Cordilleras, and extending on the south as far as the Straits of Magellan. But its true limit is the river Biobio, about a quarter of a league from the town. All the country to the south of that river, with the exception of the isle of Chiloe, and a small circle round Baldivia belongs to the Indians, who cannot be deemed subjects of the Spaniards, with whom they are continually at war,

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war, which renders the Spanish governor's office at once difficult and important. To him is entrusted the command of the militia of the country as well as the regular troops, from which he derives a great influence over the inhabitants, whose civil governor is the corregidor. The defence of the country also rests solely with him, so that between war and negotiation he finds incessant employ. A new administration is now forming, which perhaps will differ little from that of our colonies, and the authority will be divided between the governor and the intendant. In the Spanish colonies it should be observed, there is no supreme council; those who are invested with the king's authority are also, with some legal assistants, the judges in all civil actions. Hence it is obvious, that justice being administered by officers of unequal rank, the opinion of the superior draws with it that of his inferiors. He therefore is, in fact, the sole judge; and to expect that great mischiefs will not ensue from such an administration, is to suppose him endowed with unusual talents, and superior to all passion and prejudice.

The whole world does not afford a more fertile spot than this part of Chili. Corn produces sixty fold, and the vine is equally abundant, the fields are covered with innumerable flocks, which, without requiring any care, multiply beyond all calculation. The only care necessary is to keep separate the different property of individuals; and oxen, horses, mules and sheep herd together in the same enclosures. A large ox is ordinarily worth eight dollars, a sheep three quarters of a dollar; but there are no purchasers, and the inhabitants kill every year a great quantity of cattle, the skins and tallow of which are sent to Lima. They also cure some provisions for the consumption of the small coasting vessels which navigate the south seas.

No disease seems peculiar to this country, but

there is one very common that I shall not name, which those who are so fortunate as to escape often live to a great age ; for at La Conception I met with several who had attained an hundred years.

Notwithstanding so many advantages, this colony is far from making the progress which might have been expected from a situation the most favourable to great population, but the influence of the government is in constant opposition to that of the climate. The system of prohibition exists at Chili in its fullest extent. This kingdom, of which the productions would, if increased to their maximum, supply all Europe ; whose wool would be sufficient for the manufactures of France and England, and whose herds, converted into salt provision, would produce a vast revenue—this kingdom, alas ! has no commerce ! Four or five small vessels bring every year from Lima, tobacco, sugar, and some articles of European manufacture, which the miserable inhabitants can obtain only at second or third hand, after they have been charged with heavy customs at Cadiz, at Lima, and lastly at their arrival at Chili ; in exchange they give their tallow, hides, some deals, and their wheat, which, however, is at so low a price, that the cultivator has no inducement to extend his tillage. Thus the balance of trade is always against Chili, which, with all its gold\* and articles of exchange, can scarcely purchase sugars, tobacco, stuffs, linens, cambrics, and even the hardwares necessary to the ordinary wants of life.

From this very concise description, it is evident, that if Spain does not change her system ; if the freedom of commerce is not permitted ; if the du-

\* According to the accounts which have been transmitted to me, the gold which they procure annually in the archbishoprick of Conception cannot be estimated at more than 200,000 piasters. A plantation at St. Domingo affords a revenue full as large.



ties on foreign manufactures are not reduced: in short, if they lose sight of the political axiom, that a very small taxation, on an immense consumption, is far more productive to the treasury, than a duty so heavy as to annihilate the consumption itself, the kingdom of Chili will never attain that flourishing condition which its happy situation appears to promise.

Unfortunately for this country it produces a small quantity of gold, and the beds of almost all the rivers are enriched with that metal. The inhabitant may gain half a dollar a day merely by washing the soil; but, as provisions are extremely abundant, want does not excite him to labour. Deprived of all communication with foreigners, he is equally ignorant of our arts and luxury, and can feel no desires for them, sufficiently strong, to overcome his inactivity. The land, therefore, remains uncleared, and the most active are those who spend a few hours in washing the sand of the river; an occupation so easy, that it becomes unnecessary for them to learn any trade. Thus the houses of the most opulent are almost destitute of furniture, and the only workmen of La Concepcion are foreigners.

The dress of the women consists in a plaited petticoat, of those ancient gold and silver stuffs formerly manufactured at Lyons. These petticoats, which are reserved for grand occasions, are transferred, like jewels, to the different individuals of a family, and pass from grand-mother to grand-daughter. Such ornaments, however, are only within the reach of a few, and the rest have scarcely clothes to cover their nakedness.

It is the idleness, rather than the credulity or superstition, of the inhabitants, which has filled this kingdom with convents, both for men and women. The former enjoy much more liberty than in any other country; and the misfortune of having nothing

to do, of belonging to no family, and being condemned to celibacy, yet without separation from the world, or confinement to their cells, unavoidably renders them the worst members of society in America. Their effrontery cannot be expressed. I have seen them remain at a ball till midnight, separated, it is true, from the company, and placed among the servants. No one gave more exact information to our young people concerning places which priests should know, only to interdict them.

The inhabitants of La Conception are much addicted to theft, and the women are extremely complaisant. They are, however, but a degenerate race, mixed with Indians: yet the inhabitants of the first rank, the true Spaniards, are extremely polite and obliging. I should be guilty of gross ingratitude, if I did not paint them in their true colours. I shall endeavour to do it, by relating the history of our visit.

I had scarce anchored before the village of Talcahuana, when a dragoon brought me a letter from M. Quexada, who was governor, *pro tempore*, and assured me we should be received as fellow countrymen; adding, with the most perfect politeness, that the orders he had received on this occasion, were exactly in unison with the sentiments of his heart, and of all the inhabitants of La Conception. This letter was accompanied with all kinds of refreshments, which every one was anxious to present us; but we could not consume so many objects, and we scarcely knew even where to place them.

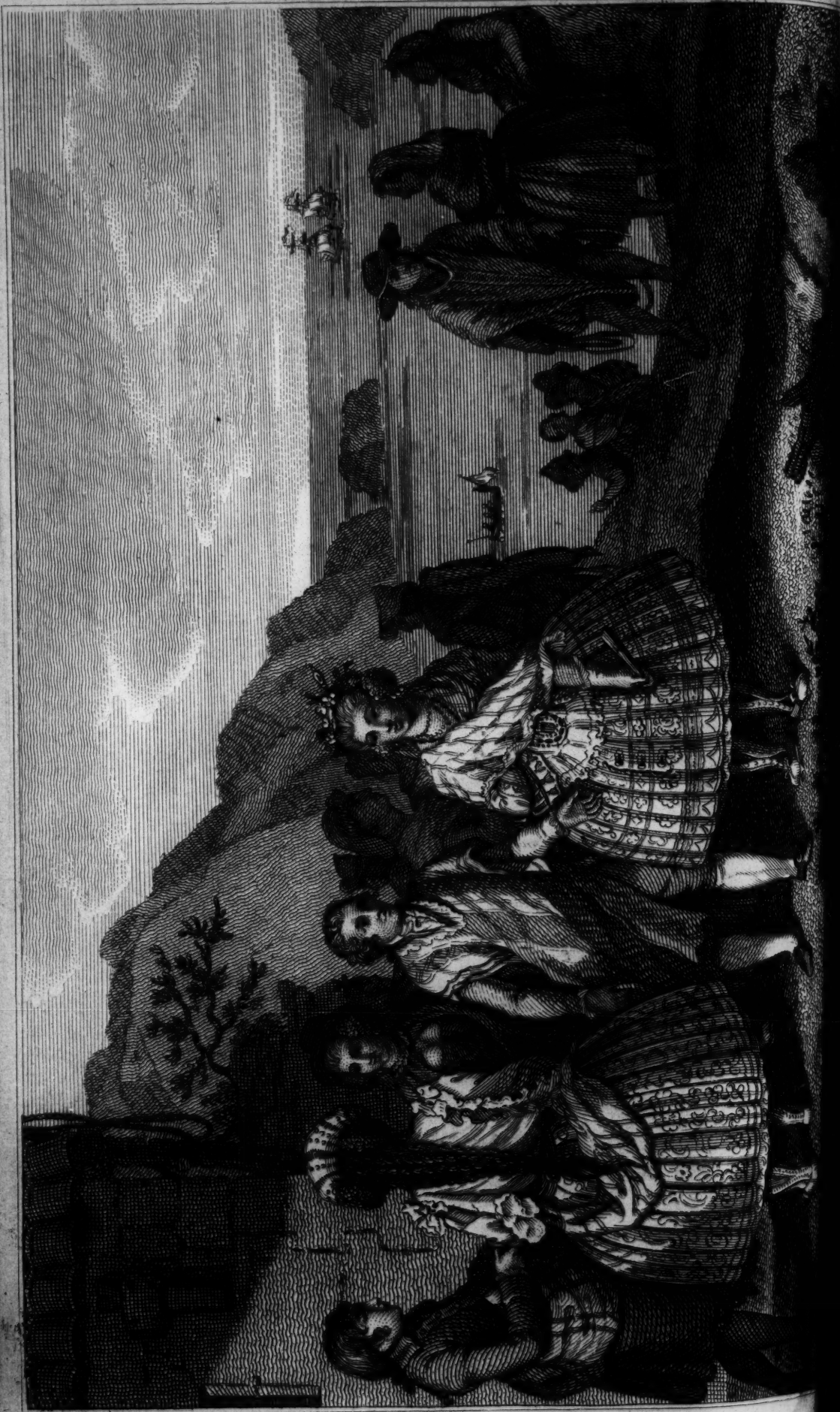
Being obliged to devote my first attention to the refitting of my ship, and getting up our astronomical clocks and quadrants on shore, I could not immediately make my acknowledgments to the governor, though I waited with impatience the moment when I might discharge that duty. He, however, prevented me by coming on board, attended by the principal



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principal officers of the colony. I returned the visit next day accompanied by M. de Langle, and several officers and passengers. We were preceded by a detachment of dragoons, the governor having quartered half a company at Talcaguana, which, as well as their horses, were at our orders ever since our arrival. M. Quexada, M. Sabatero, commandant of artillery, and the town major, meeting us a league from La Concepcion, we all went down to M. Sabatero's where we had an excellent dinner, and at night there was a ball, to which the principal ladies of the place were invited.

The *costume* of these ladies was very different from those with which we had been acquainted. A plaited petticoat discovering half the leg, and fastened on a good way below the waist; striped stockings of red, blue, and white; shoes so short, that the toes are folded one over another, and the foot thus made round, form the dress of the ladies of Chili. Their hair is without powder, and divided into small toupees behind, which fall down on their shoulders. Their boddices are usually of gold or silver stuff, and are covered with two mantillas or cloaks, the first of muslin, the second, or uppermost, of woollen cloth of various colours, as yellow, blue, or rose. These woollen mantillas cover the heads of the ladies when they walk in the streets, and in cold weather; but in their houses they lay them in their lap; and they have a play of the mantilla, constantly placing and replacing it on their knees, in which the ladies of La Concepcion are eminently graceful. They are in general pretty, and so amiably polite, that there is certainly no maritime city in Europe where foreign navigators would be received in a manner so engaging and attentive.

The ball concluded about midnight. Mr. Sabatero's house not being capable of accommodating all our officers and passengers, each inhabitant kindly

offered them a bed, and we were thus divided into the different quarters of the city.

Before dinner we had visited the principal inhabitants; and, in particular, the bishop, who was a man of intelligence, of amiable manners, and that exemplary charity so frequent among the Spanish bishops. He is a Creole of Peru, has never been in Europe, and owes his elevation to his virtues. He expressed to us the regret Mr. Higgins, a colonel of horse, would feel, from having been detained by the Indians during our short stay within his government. The praises every one bestowed on that officer, and the general esteem for him, made me regret that circumstances prevented our seeing him. A courier, however, was sent to him, and his answer, which arrived before our departure, announced a speedy return; for he had just concluded a peace with the Indians glorious to his administration, and particularly necessary to the people under his government, whose distant dwellings are exposed to the depredations of these savages, who massacre the men and children, and carry the women into captivity.

The Indians of Chili are no longer those ancient Americans whom the arms of Europeans inspired with terror. The vast multiplication of horses spread over the immense deserts of America, and that of cattle and sheep, which are also extremely numerous, have made Arabians of these people; and we may, in all respects, compare them with the inhabitants of the deserts of Arabia itself. Constantly on horseback, to them journeys of 200 leagues are mere excursions. They travel with their flocks, feed on their flesh, their milk, and sometimes on their blood\*; and they cover themselves with their skins, with which they make casques, cuirasses, and shields. Thus has the introduction of two domestic animals in

\* I have been assured, they sometimes open the veins of their cattle and horses, in order to drink their blood.



America, produced the most striking effect on the manners of all its inhabitants, from St. Jago to the streights of Magellan. They now no longer follow any of their ancient customs, no longer feed on the same fruits, no longer wear the same cloathing, and have a much stronger resemblance to the Tartars, or the inhabitants of the borders of the Red Sea than to their own ancestors, who lived two centuries ago.

It is easy to conceive how dangerous such neighbours are to the Spaniards. How can they be pursued in such long expeditions, or how prevented from assembling in a single point, a nation spread over a country 400 leagues across, and thus forming an army of 30,000 men?

Mr. Higgins had the good fortune to gain the good will of these savages, and thereby rendered the most signal service to the nation which had adopted him; for he was a native of Ireland, descended from one of the families there who have been persecuted on account of their religion, and ancient attachment to the house of Stuart. I cannot deny myself the pleasure of speaking of this loyal officer, whose manners are so accordant with those of every nation. Like the Indians I also granted him my entire confidence after an hour's conversation. His letter was soon followed by his return, and I was scarcely informed of it when he arrived at Talcaguana. Again I was anticipated, for a colonel of cavalry is sooner mounted than a French sailor; and Mr. Higgins, who was charged with the defence of the country, was a man of almost unequalled activity. In politeness and attention he exceeded, if possible, the M. Quexada. His kindness appeared so sincere and engaging to all the Frenchmen, that no expressions could convey our sentiments of gratitude. As we were indebted to all the inhabitants for their politeness, we resolved to give them a general *fête* before our departure, and to invite to it all the ladies of La Concep-  
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tion. A large tent was therefore pitched by the side of the sea, where we gave a dinner to 150 visitors, who had the complaisance to come nine miles to accept our invitation, which was followed by a ball, fire-works, and a paper balloon, large enough to afford them an interesting spectacle.

The next day we made use of the same tent to give a great dinner to the crews of both our ships, when we all sat at the same table; M. de Langle and myself at the head, and every officer, down to the last of the sailors, placed according to their rank on board. Our plates were wooden platters, and gaiety and pleasure smiled in the countenances of all the sailors, who appeared more healthy, and a thousand times happier than on the day of our departure from Brest.

The colonel of cavalry gave a *fête* in his turn, and we all went to La Conception to attend it, except the officers on duty. Mr. Higgins came to meet us, and conducted our cavalcade to his house, where a table was laid with 100 covers, to which all the officers and inhabitants of distinction were, with several ladies, invited. At each course a Franciscan *Improvisatore* recited some verses in celebration of the union between the two nations. At night there was a great ball, attended by all the ladies in their best dresses, and some officers in masks performed a very elegant ballet. It is impossible to form a more charming *fête* in any part of the world. It was given by a man whom the whole country adored, and to foreigners who had the advantage of belonging to a nation reputed the most gallant in Europe.

But these pleasures and this good reception did not induce me to lose sight of my principal object. I announced, on the day of my arrival, that I should sail on the 15th of March, and that should our vessels be refitted, and our wood, water and provisions be on board before that time, every one should have liberty

to



to go and amuse himself on shore. Nothing could be better calculated to accelerate our work than this promise, of which however I dreaded the effect as much as the sailors desired it ; because wine is very abundant in Chili, where every house sells it, and the wives of the inhabitants are almost as complaisant as those of Otaheite ; yet no irregularity caused me to regret the indulgence I had granted.

During our stay at Talcaguana, M. Dagelet regularly made comparisons, to ascertain the rate of our time-keepers, with the result of which we were extremely well pleased. No. 19 had only lost  $3\frac{1}{2}''$  per day upon the motion of the sun, since our departure from France, which is a difference of but half a second from its daily rate at Brest, and one second from that at Teneriffe. The small time-keepers, Nos. 25 and 29, had varied so much as not to deserve our confidence.

On the 15th, at day break, I made the signal to prepare for sailing ; but the wind then settled in the north, whereas, during our whole stay in this road, it had been constantly between south-south-west and south-west. The breeze usually came on at ten in the morning, and ceased at the same hour ; or earlier at night when it had begun earlier ; on the contrary, it continued till midnight, if it had begun at noon : so that there were about twelve hours of breeze and twelve hours of calm. This rule constantly prevailed till the 15th, when the wind, after an absolute calm and excessive heat, settled in the north. It blew very fresh from that quarter, with much rain during the nights of the 15th and 16th ; and on the 17th, about noon, a light breeze sprung up from the S. W. with which I got under sail, altho' it was very feeble, and only carried us two leagues out of the bay, where we remained in a dead calm and a heavy swell, in consequence of the late northerly winds. We were surrounded during the whole

whole night, by whales, which came so near our ships that they spouted water on board. Yet not an inhabitant of Chili ever harpooned a fish; for Nature has lavished so many riches on this kingdom, that several ages will elapse before this branch of industry will require to be cultivated.

On the 19th the south winds permitted me to stand off from the shore, when I shaped my course to the eastward of the island of Juan Fernandez, which I did not make, because its situation has been fixed according to the observations of Father Feuillée at La Conception, and it is impossible there should be an error of ten minutes in its longitude.

On the 23d we were in  $30^{\circ} 29'$  S. latitude, and  $85^{\circ} 51'$  W. longitude by our time-keeper, No. 19, whose rate since our departure from La Conception was so perfectly exact with that of No. 18, which was on board M. de Langle's ship, that their results did not differ two minutes of a degree till our arrival at Easter Island. In the cold climates in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn it was otherwise, for it appears that the table of temperature given to M. Dagelet by M. Berthoud at Paris, was not correct. The difference was so considerable, as to occasion an error in the longitude, by No. 18, of more than a degree, between the Strait of Le Maire and our arrival off the coast of Chili.

On the 24th the wind settled to the eastward, and did not vary five degrees till we were about 120 leagues from Easter Island. On the 3d of April, in  $27^{\circ} 5'$  S. lat. and  $101^{\circ}$  W. long. we had the wind from N. E. to N. W. and we saw the only birds we had met with since we passed the island of Juan Fernandez, except one or two *taille-vents*, that we had seen in a run of 600 leagues. This frequent change of wind is the most certain sign of land, though naturalists perhaps will find it difficult to explain how the influence of a small island in so immense a sea

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should extend to 100 leagues. Nor is it enough for a navigator to presume that he is that distance from an island, because nothing points out to him in what point of the compass he may fall in with it. The direction of the flight of birds after sun-set afforded me no information; and I am fully convinced, that in all their motions they have no other object than the pursuit of prey. I have at dusk observed sea-birds direct their flight towards ten different points of the horizon; and I am of opinion that from such an appearance the most enthusiastic augurs would not have ventured to draw any conclusion.

On the 4th of April I was only 60 leagues from Easter Island, when I saw no birds, and the wind was N. N. E. and it is probable that had I not known the exact situation of the island, I should have imagined I had passed it, and should therefore have put about. But I made these reflections at the time, and I must acknowledge that the discovery of islands is to be attributed to chance, and that very often the acutest calculations from theory have only misled succeeding navigators.

On the 8th of April, at two in the afternoon, I made Easter Island, bearing W.  $5^{\circ}$  S. distant twelve leagues. The sea was then very high, and the winds northerly; it had been shifting during the last four days, and had veered round from N. to S. by the W. I am of opinion that this variation was not occasioned solely by the proximity of a small island, nor is it probable the trade winds are constant in this season in the 23d degree. The point I perceived was that to the eastward. I was then precisely in the same place where Capt. Davis, in 1686, had fallen in with an island of sand, and twelve leagues further to the westward, a land which Captain Cook and Captain Dalrymple took for Easter Island, and which was again found in 1722 by Roggewin. But these two seamen, though very well informed, did not sufficiently attend

attend to the account of Waffer, who fays, (Rouen edit. p. 300) " That Captain Davis, departing from  
 " Gallapagos, with an intention of returning to Europe by Cape Horn, and of only putting into the  
 " island of Juan Fernandez, experienced in  $12^{\circ}$  S. lat. a terrible shock, and thought he had touched  
 " upon a rock ; he had then constantly directed his  
 " courfe to the fouthward, and reckoned he was 150  
 " leagues from the continent of America ; but he afterwards learnt that at the fame moment an earthquake took place at Lima.

" Having recovered from his alarm he continued to  
 " run S. S. by E. and S. W. as far as  $27^{\circ} 20'$ , and, he  
 " fays, that at two in the morning they heard a-head  
 " the noife of a fea breaking on the shore. He lay-to  
 " till day, when he faw a fmall ifland of fand, which  
 " was not furrounded by any rocks. He approached  
 " it within a quarter of a mile, and perceived, further on, bearing 12 leagues to the weftward, a great  
 " land, which he took for a group of iflands, on account of the intervals between the different capes.  
 " Davis did not furvey it, but continued his courfe  
 " towards the ifland of Juan Fernandez." But Waffer fays, that this little ifland of fand is 500 leagues from Copiapo, and 600 from Gallapagos ; but it has not been fufficiently obferved, that this refult is impoffible. If Davis, in  $12^{\circ}$  S. lat. and 150 leagues from the coaft of America, had made a due S. S. E. courfe, as Waffer relates ; as it is evident this buccaneer captain muft have fteered with the eafterly winds fo frequent in thefe feas, in order to perform his intention of going to Juan Fernandez, we muft conclude with M. Pingré, that there is an error in the figure of the quotation of Dampier, and that the land feen by Davis, in lieu of being 500, is only 200 leagues from Copiapo. It would then be probable that the two iflands of Davis are thofe of St. Ambrofe and St. Felix, which are a little more to the northward than

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Copiapo. But the buccaneer pilots were not so minute, and seldom took the latitude within 30 or 40 minutes. I should have spared my readers this geographical dissertation, had I not to oppose the opinions of two justly celebrated seamen. I ought, however, to observe, that Captain Cook was in doubt, and declared he would have decided the question, had he had time to get into a higher latitude to the eastward of Easter island. As I ran down 300 leagues on that parallel, without seeing the island of sand, I am of opinion, no doubt ought to remain; and the problem appears to me completely solved\*.

During

\* While I adopt the solution of this problem given by La Pérouse, I ought to give a complete view of the proofs resulting from the journals of other navigators.

It evidently appears, as Pingré, Cook, and La Pérouse observe, that there is an error in the figures of Dampier, and that the pretended land of Davis can be only 200 leagues from the coast of America.

I agree with La Pérouse, that the methods of computing the longitudes were so erroneous in the time of Davis, that we can only rely on the latitudes. Thus it is by the account of Waffer, that we may delineate the track of Davis at his departure from the Gallapagos Islands, at which time he steered southward, as far as the twelfth degree of S. lat. where he experienced a terrible shock, &c. He had constantly steered southward, and reckoned that he was 150 leagues from the continent of America.

In observing on the chart the ship's place thus described, we shall find that he was nearly in the 87th degree of W. long. He continued his course southward, S. by E. and S. W. as far as the land discovered in 27° 20' S. lat. By thus following the track of Davis, it appears he must have been about 200 leagues from Copiapo, 600 from the Gallapagos, and 1° to the S. E. of the S. point of the situation in which the islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrose are laid down in the French maps. It may easily therefore be perceived, that the great land seen by Davis 12 leagues to the southward, must be that of the islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrose, and that the island of sand must be a few leagues to the eastward of these islands.

In order to establish this, let us review the situation pointed out for the pretended land of Davis, and for the islands St. Felix and St. Ambrose, as well as the journals of the different navigators.

The English maps place these islands in 15° S. lat. the French in 25°, and those of Green from 26° 20' to 27°.

Cook

During the night of the 8th of April, I coasted Easter Island, at three leagues distance. The weather was clear, and the wind had veered round from North to S. E. in less than three hours. At day-break I steered for Cook's Bay, which is the most sheltered from the winds between N. and S. by the East, in the whole island. It is only open to the West winds, and the weather was so fine that I had hopes they would not blow for several days. At eleven o'clock I was not above a league from the anchorage. The Astrolabe had already dropped anchor, and I did the same very near her: but the water deepened so rapidly, that the anchors of both

Cook agrees that he missed the true latitude of these islands, rather in consequence of having relied on the table of latitudes and longitudes, in Robertson's Elements of Navigation, than on Green's chart. He saw certain signs of land in the neighbourhood of the 25th degree of S. lat. But he could not find in  $25^{\circ} 50'$ , and  $25^{\circ} 30'$ , the land of Davis which did not exist, nor the islands St. Felix and St. Ambrose, which must exist in the 27th degree, and of which he perceived some signs.

La Pérouse, when coming from the eastward, and running down 300 leagues on the parallel of Easter island, could not see either the land of Davis, which did not exist, or the islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrose, whose longitude is between 26 and 27 degrees to the eastward of that island. It is therefore evident, as Captains Cook and Dalrymple thought, that Easter island, which was found again by Roggewein in 1722, cannot be the land of Davis.

It is also evident, that the Islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrose, cannot exist in the situation laid down in the English maps: for as Cook remarks, Davis would then have fallen in with them in his track. And it is evident, that the Islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrose cannot exist in the situation laid down in the French maps, in conformity with that described by Robertson; for then Capt. Cook would have seen them.

It appears then almost demonstrative, that the land of Davis does not exist, but that there are Islands in the 27th degree of S. latitude, about 200 leagues from Copiapo, which are no other than the Islands of St. Felix and St. Ambrose, laid down erroneously in all the maps; and that these Islands are the pretended land of Davis. Such, at least, is my opinion, after a comparison of the journal of the different navigators. It is also the opinion of a modern navigator, in high estimation, I mean M. Bougainville.—*French Editor.*

ships



ships came home. Thus we were obliged to purchase again, and make two boards to regain the anchorage.

This contrariety did not abate the ardour of the Indians, who swam after us to a league off shore, and came on board with a laughing careless air, which gave me the best opinion of their character. Men of a more suspicious turn would have feared, when we got under sail again, that we were carrying them off from their native soil. But the idea of such perfidy did not seem to present itself to their minds.

Naked and unarmed, in the midst of us, a simple string round their middle supported a bundle of herbs that hung down before. Mr. Hodges, the painter who accompanied Capt. Cook in his second voyage, has succeeded very ill in portraying their physiognomy, which is generally agreeable and extremely various; and has not, like that of the Malays, Chinese, and inhabitants of Chili, a general character that is peculiar to themselves.

I made several presents to these Indians, who preferred pieces of painted cloth, half an ell long, to nails, knives, and beads. Even these yielded to their stronger inclination for hats, of which however we had too small a quantity to give to many of them. At eight in the evening I took leave of my new guests, giving them to understand by signs, that at day-break I should go ashore. They then went dancing into their boat, and threw themselves into the sea, two musket shots from the shore, on which the billows broke with considerable force. They had taken the precaution of making little packets of my presents, and every one placed those which belonged to him on his head, to secure them from the water.

## CHAP. IV.

DESCRIPTION OF EASTER ISLAND—INCIDENTS AND  
EVENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE THERE—MANNERS  
AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.

COOK's Bay, in Easter Island, is situated in  $27^{\circ} 11' \text{ S. lat. and } 111^{\circ} 51' 30'' \text{ W. lon.}$  and is the only anchorage that is sheltered from the S. E. and E. winds, which usually blow in these seas. With westerly winds it is very dangerous: but from that quarter, however, the wind never blows, till it has veered round by the East to N. E., to the N. and from thence to the West. There is sufficient time, therefore, to get under way; and, at three quarters of a mile in the offing, no danger is to be feared.

This Bay is easily known. For after doubling the two rocks off the south point of the Island, and running along shore at the distance of a mile, a small creek may be perceived, which is the most certain land mark. When this creek bears E. by S. and the two rocks abovementioned are shut in with the point, there is anchorage in twenty fathoms water over a bottom of sand, at three quarters of a mile from the shore. Further in the offing there is no bottom but in thirty-five or forty fathoms, and the depth of the water encreases so rapidly that the anchor does not hold. The landing is easy at the foot of one of the statues, of which I shall presently speak.

At day-break I ordered every thing to be made ready for us to go on shore, where I had reason to expect I should meet with friends, as I had loaded with presents those who had come on board the preceding evening. I was too well acquainted with the accounts of the different navigators, to be ignorant that the Indians are but grown up children, whose desires the sight of our property would so strongly



strongly excite, that they would take every possible method to get possession of them. I was therefore convinced that I must restrain them by fear, and gave orders that this expedition should be accompanied with a little warlike train. We put this in execution, with four boats and twelve armed soldiers. M. de Langle and myself were followed by all the passengers and officers, except those who were necessary to carry on the duty on board our ships. Thus we formed a body of about seventy persons, including the crews of our boats.

Four or five hundred Indians waited for us on the shore. They were unarmed, and several of them covered with pieces of white and yellow stuff; but the greater number were naked, several were tattooed, and their faces painted red. Their cries and their physiognomy equally expressed their joy, as they advanced to give us their hands and assist us in landing.

This part of the Island has an elevation of about twenty feet, and the mountains are about seven or eight hundred toises from the sea, to which the soil has a gentle declivity from the bases. This interval is covered with a kind of herb, which I believe to be fit for pasturage. It grows on the surface of large stones, that lie loose upon the earth, and appear precisely similar to those of the Isle of France, called in the country *giraumons*, because they are in general of the size of that fruit. These very stones, which were so inconvenient to us in walking, are a very valuable present from nature. They keep the earth cool and moist, and supply the place of that salutary shade which the inhabitants have imprudently banished by felling their trees. This practice, which has exposed their soil to be burnt up by the sun, and precluded the existence of floods, rivulets, or springs, must have taken place in very remote periods. The islanders were ignorant, that in the

small islands of such an immense ocean, the coolness of a land covered with trees can alone detain and condense clouds, and thus keep up an almost continual rain upon the mountains, which may spread on every side into springs and rivulets. Islands deprived of this advantage, are subject to a horrid drought, which gradually destroys the plants and shrubs, and renders the land almost uninhabitable. M. de Langle and myself did not doubt that this people owed their unfortunate situation, in this respect, to the imprudence of their ancestors; and it is probable, that other Islands of the South Sea are only watered, because fortunately they have inaccessible mountains, where it has been impossible to cut wood. Thus has nature veiled her greater liberality to the latter behind the cloak of avarice, and by concealing her exuberance in recesses which it was out of their power to invade. A long stay in the Isle of France, which bears so strong a resemblance to Easter Island, has taught me that the trees never shoot again, unless sheltered from the sea breezes by other trees or by walls. And it was the knowledge of this circumstance that explained to me the cause of the devastation of Easter Island, whose inhabitants have much less cause of complaint from the eruptions of their volcanos, which have long been extinguished, than from their own imprudence. But as man accommodates himself to every situation, with more ease than any other animal, these islanders appeared less unfortunate to me than they did to Capt. Cook and Mr. Forster, who arrived there after a long tedious voyage, eat up with scurvy, and in want of every thing. They found neither wood, water, nor pigs: a few fowls, bananas, and potatoes can, in such circumstances, afford but poor supplies. Accordingly their accounts bear the marks of their more unpleasant situation. Ours was infinitely more happy. Our crews enjoyed perfect health;



health; we had taken on board in Chili whatever necessaries we wanted for several months; and all we desired of the inhabitants, was to afford us an opportunity of conferring benefits. We brought them goats, sheep, and pigs; and we had feeds of oranges, lemons, cotton, maize, and in general every species of plants most likely to thrive upon their soil.

Our first care, when we landed, was to form a ring of armed soldiers, enjoining the inhabitants to leave this space void. Then pitching a tent, I had the presents intended for them, and the different species of animals to be left, brought on shore. But as I had expressly forbidden the soldiers to fire, or even with the butt end of their muskets, to keep off the Indians who might be troublesome, the soldiers themselves were soon exposed to the rapacity of those islanders, whose numbers rapidly encreased. They amounted at the least to 800, out of whom full 150 were women. The physiognomy of many among the latter were agreeable, and they offered their favors to those who were willing to give them presents. The men endeavoured to induce us to comply, and while the women lavished their caresses on us, took our hats from our heads, and our handkerchiefs from our pockets. They all seemed to be accomplices in these thefts, for they had scarcely committed them, when they all took to flight at the same instant, like a covey of birds. But observing that we made no use of our muskets, they returned a few minutes afterwards, renewed their caresses, and watched a favourable moment to commit new thefts. These manœuvres continued all the morning: and as we were to leave them at night, and so short a space of time did not admit of our giving them much instruction, we only amused ourselves with observing the artifices these islanders employed to rob us. In order to remove every pretext for any

kind of force, which might have produced unfortunate consequences, I declared that I would replace the hats that might be taken from the soldiers and sailors. These Indians were unarmed. Only three or four, among so great a number, had a kind of wooden club, not in the least formidable. Some of them appeared to have a slight authority over the others, and taking them for Chiefs I distributed some medals among them, which I hung about their necks with a chain. But I soon discovered that these were in fact the very men who were the most notorious thieves; and although they seemed to pursue those who stole our handkerchiefs, it was easy to perceive they were fully determined not to overtake them.

Having but eight or ten hours to remain upon the island, and being desirous not to lose that interval of time, I confided the care of our tent, and of all our effects, to M. d'Escures, my first lieutenant, to whom I also gave the command of all the soldiers and sailors on shore. We then divided ourselves into two parties, of which the first, under the orders of M. de Langle, was to penetrate as far as possible into the heart of the Island, to sow the grain in such spots as should appear best adapted to their cultivation; and to examine the nature of the soil, plants, agriculture, population, monuments, and in general every thing interesting among this very extraordinary people. Those who were able to go over a great extent of ground, joined his party, and he was accompanied by Messrs. Dagelet, Lamanon, Duché, Dufresne, Martinière, Father Receveur, M. Abbé Mongès, and the Gardener. The second party, of which I made one, visited the monuments, the platforms, and the houses and plantations, within a league around our quarters. The drawing of these monuments, given by Mr. Hodges, presents but a feeble idea of the objects we saw. Mr. Forster thinks

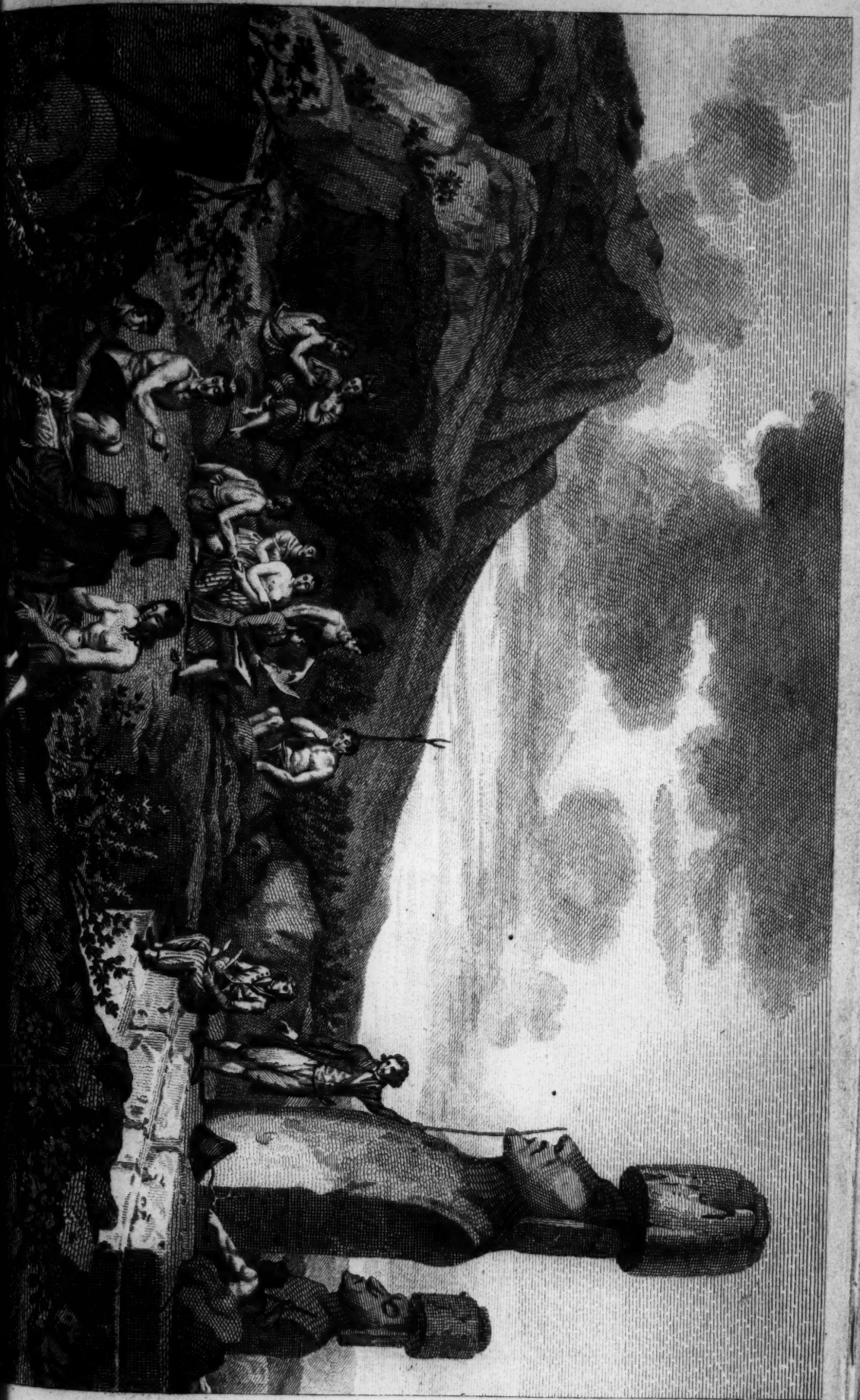


thinks they are the work of a people much more considerable than the present inhabitants of the island; but his opinion appears to me unfounded. The largest of the clumsy busts on these platforms, or that we measured, is only fourteen feet six inches high, seven feet six inches broad across the shoulders, three feet thick in the belly, and six feet broad and five feet thick at the base. These busts, I say, may be the work of the present race, whose population I believe may, without exaggerating, be estimated at 2000. The number of women appeared nearly equal to that of the men, and I saw as great a number of children as in any other country. For though in about 1200 inhabitants, whom our arrival had drawn together round the Bay, there were not more than 300 women, I should from thence only conjecture, that although the men came from the extremity of the island to see our ships, the women, either because more delicate, or more occupied with their children and families, were left at home; and we only saw those who inhabited the environs of the Bay. This opinion is confirmed by the account of M. de Langle, who found, in the interior of the island, a great number of women and children; and we all explored the caverns where Mr. Forster and some of Capt. Cook's officers thought the women might be concealed. These are subterraneous dwellings, of the same form with those I shall hereafter describe, where we found small faggots, of which the largest pieces were not five feet long, and did not exceed six inches in circumference. We cannot, however, dispute that the inhabitants had concealed their wives when Capt. Cook visited them in 1772, but I could not discover their motive; and it is perhaps to the kindness with which those navigators conducted themselves towards this people, that we owe the confidence they seemed to place in

us, and by which we were enabled to judge better of their population.

All the monuments now remaining, and of which M. Duché has given an exact drawing, appear very ancient, and are placed in a kind of *morai*, or burying ground, as we judged from the number of bones near them. It cannot be supposed their form of government has so equalized all conditions that there is no chief whose memory the inhabitants desire to preserve by erecting him a statue. Instead of the colossal mausolea of pride and vanity they have here substituted only small heaps of stone in the shape of a pyramid of which the upper stone is whitened with lime water. These little monuments, which are only an hour's work for one man, are erected on the sea-shore, and an Indian clearly explained to us by laying himself down on the ground the object of these heaps of stones: afterwards lifting his hands towards Heaven, he evidently expressed their belief in a future existence. I was unwilling rashly to adopt such an opinion, and confess I thought them far from possessing that idea, till having observed them repeat the same sign to others, and M. de Langle, who travelled into the interior part of the country, having reported the same fact, I have now no doubt on the subject, and I believe all our officers and passengers entertain a similar opinion. Yet we saw no trace of any religious worship among them; for I do not think their rude statues can be taken for idols, notwithstanding the Indians may have shewn for them a species of veneration. These colossal busts, of which I have already given the dimensions, and which sufficiently prove the little progress they have made in sculpture, are cut out of a volcanic production known among naturalists by the name of *lapillo*, a stone so light and friable that some of Captain Cook's officers have thought it might be a factitious substance composed of mortar  
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indurated by the air. It only remains to be explained how they have been able to raise so considerable a weight without the aid of machines. We were however certain they were of a very light volcanic stone, and that by means of levers five or six fathoms long, and sliding stones underneath, as Captain Cook very well explains, they might be able to raise a much greater weight: an operation for which an hundred men would be sufficient, and there would not be room for a greater number to act. Thus the marvellous disappears, nature regains her *lapillo*, which is not the production of art, and there is reason to believe that if no new monuments adorn the island it is because there all conditions are equal; to be king over a people who are almost naked and live on yams and potatoes, excites little jealousy; and these Indians, never having any occasion for war, because they have no neighbours, have no need of a chief invested with any considerable authority.

I can only hazard conjectures on the manners of these people, whose language I do not understand, and whom I have seen but for a day. I was assisted, however, by the experience of other navigators who have gone before, with whose accounts I am perfectly acquainted, and to these I added my own reflections.

Scarcely the tenth part of the land is cultivated, and I am persuaded that three days labour is sufficient to procure the Indian subsistence for a year. Such facility in providing for the wants of life has led me to believe the productions of the earth are in common, particularly as I am almost certain their houses are common, at least to a whole village or a district. I measured one of these houses which was near us\*; it was 300 feet in length, 10 in breadth, and in the middle ten in height. Its form was that of a canoe inverted, and there was no

\* This house was not yet finished, so that Captain Cook could not have seen it.

entrance except by creeping on the hands through two doors, both less than two feet high. This house, which would contain more than two hundred persons, could not be the residence of the chief, for there was no furniture, and so great a space would have been useless to him; with two or three other houses not far distant, it therefore forms a village.

There is probably in every district a chief who particularly superintends the plantations, of which Captain Cook imagined he was the proprietor. But if that celebrated traveller found some difficulty in procuring a sufficient quantity of potatoes and yams, it must be attributed not so much to a scarcity of those vegetables, as to the necessity of obtaining an almost general consent for their sale.

I cannot venture to say whether the women are common to a district, and the children to the republic, but it is certain that no individual of the Indians appeared to have over any one woman the authority of a husband. If, however, they are individual property, their masters are very prodigal of their rights.

Some of their dwellings are, as I have already observed, subterraneous, but as a proof that there are marshy places in the interior of the island, others are constructed of rushes, very neatly arranged, which afford a perfect shelter from the rain. The building rests on a base of hewn stone\*, 18 inches thick, in which they have bored holes at equal distances to admit poles which bending archwise, form the roof, the spaces of which are filled up with a thatch of reeds.

The identity of these people with the other islanders of the South Sea, as Captain Cook observes, cannot be doubted, for their language and national physiognomy are the same, their manufactures also, made from the bark of the mulberry, though these trees are very rare, having been destroyed by the

\* These stones are not granite, but solid lava.

droughts.



droughts. Such as have survived are only three feet high, and these they have even been obliged to encompass with walls to secure them from the winds: it is remarkable that the height of these trees never exceeded that of the walls by which they are sheltered.

I do not doubt that in former periods of time these islanders have enjoyed the same productions as the Society Islands. But the fruit trees must have perished by the droughts, as well as the pigs and dogs to whom water is indispensably necessary, while man, who at Hudson's Bay makes whale oil his beverage, can accustom himself to any thing, and I have seen the natives of Easter Island drink sea-water like the albatrosses of Cape Horn. We were there in the wet season, and finding a little brackish water in some hollows on the sea-shore, they offered it to us in gourds: but it was rejected by the most thirsty of our crew. I do not flatter myself that the pigs which I presented them will multiply; but I hope that the goats and sheep which drink little and love salt, will succeed there.

At one in the afternoon I came back to the tent designing to return on board, that M. de Clonard, my second Captain, might go on shore in his turn. I found almost all my people without hats or handkerchiefs; for our gentleness had encouraged these plunderers, nor was I at all distinguished from the rest. An Indian who had assisted me in descending from a platform, took away my hat, and as soon as he had rendered me this service, ran off at full speed, followed as usual by all the rest. I did not however cause him to be pursued, for being nearly all in the same state, I would not alone enjoy the privilege of being sheltered from the sun, and therefore continued examining the platform; a monument which has given me the highest opinion of the talents these people once possessed for building, for  
here

here the pompous word architecture cannot be applied. They seem never to have been acquainted with any kind of cement, but they cut and shaped their stones with perfect accuracy, placing and joining them according to the rules of art.

I have collected a few samples of these stones, which are lavas of various densities. The lightest, and which must consequently be the first decomposed, forms the face towards the land; that turned to the sea is constructed of a lava infinitely more compact, and I know not any instrument or substance which these islanders possess, hard enough to cut these last; a longer stay on the island might have afforded some light upon the subject. At two o'clock I returned on board, and M. de Clonard went on shore. Soon afterwards two officers of the *Astrolabe* arrived to inform me, that the Indians had just committed a robbery, which had occasioned a considerable contest. Some divers had cut the grapnel rope of the *Astrolabe's* boat under water, and carried off her grapnel, which we did not perceive till the robbers had got a considerable way into the interior of the island. As this anchor was necessary to us, a couple of officers, with several soldiers, pursued them, but were soon overwhelmed with a shower of stones. A musquet fired in the air without shot produced no effect, and they were at last obliged to fire a charge of small shot, some of which, doubtless, touched one of the Indians, for the throwing of stones then ceased, and our officers were able to gain the tent in tranquillity; but it was impossible to overtake the Indians, who must have been astonished at our patience, which all their insults had not been sufficient to subdue.

They soon, however, returned around our quarters, and again offering us their women, we became as good friends as at our first interview. At length, by six in the evening, every thing was got on board, the



the canoes returned on shore, and I made the signal to prepare to weigh. Before we got under sail, M. de Langle gave me an account of his excursion into the interior of the island, which I shall relate in the following chapter. He had sown seeds through all his route, and shewn these islanders every mark of his extreme benevolence; yet, I think I shall complete the portrait of their character, when I relate, that a kind of chief, to whom M. de Langle had presented a male and female goat, received them with one hand, while, with the other, he stole his handkerchief.

Doubtless these people have not the same notions of theft with us. Probably among them no disgrace is attached to it. But they are well apprised of the injustice they commit, for they instantly fly, to escape the punishment which they evidently expect, and which, had we continued on the island, we should not have failed to inflict in proportion to the offence. For our extreme lenity had, in the end, produced the most disagreeable consequences.

No one who has read the accounts of modern navigators, can mistake the Indians of the South Sea for savages. On the contrary, they have made very considerable progress in civilization; and, I believe, are as highly corrupted as possible, under all the circumstances of their situation. This opinion is not founded on the various thefts they committed, but on the manner in which those thefts were perpetrated. The most hardened, unblushing villains of Europe are not such hypocrites as these islanders, who care only to conceal fraud, and whose countenance expresses not one sentiment of the heart. For the Indian who had just received a present, and appeared the most eager to render us a thousand services, was, in reality, ever the most to be suspected.

They forcibly dragged to us girls of 13 or 14 years of age, solely with the hope of receiving the reward of panders. Their repugnance evinced, that in them  
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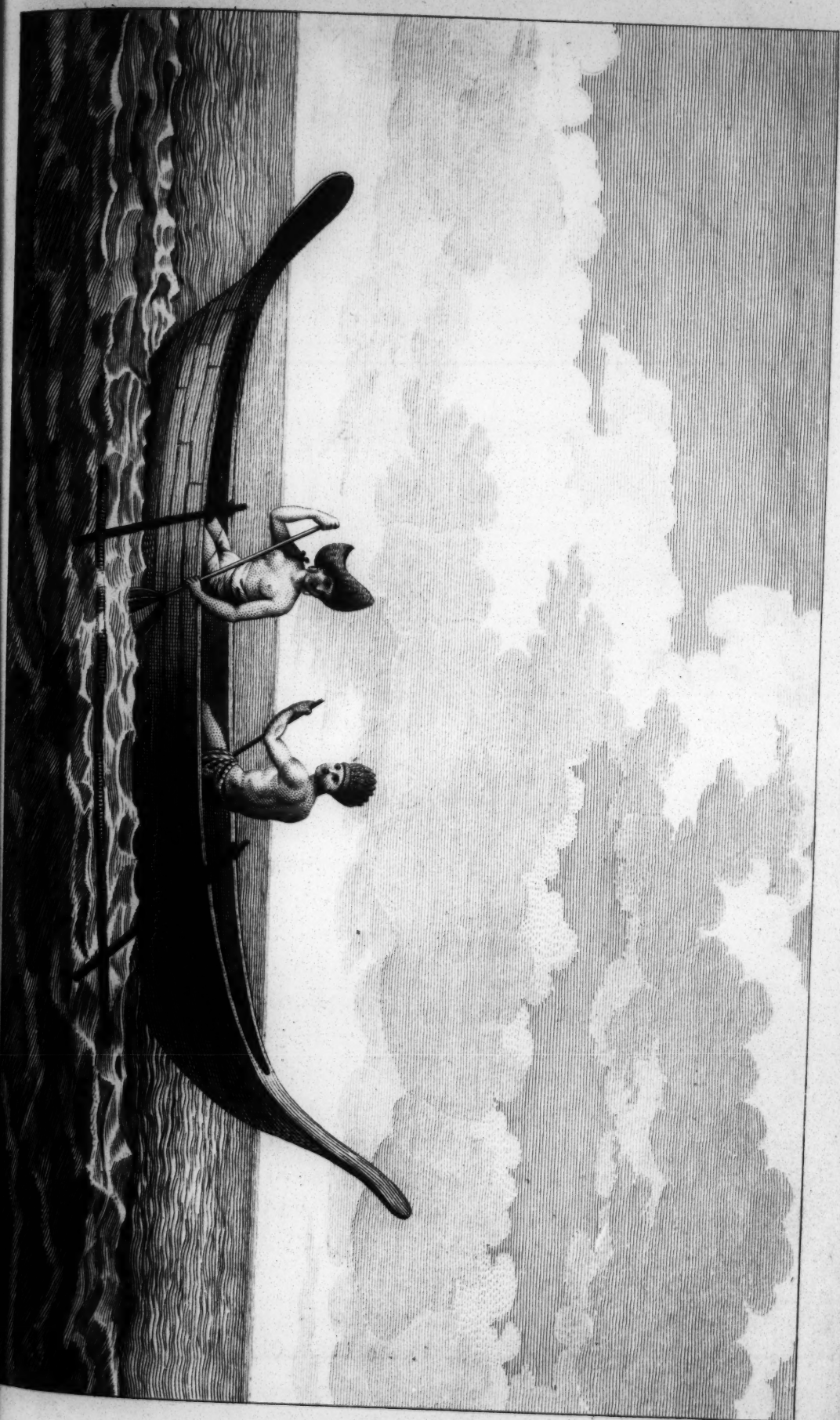
the laws of the country were violated, and every Frenchman disdained to use the brutal power which he thus possessed.

I have found, in this country, all the arts possessed by the people of the Society Islands, but with much less opportunity of exercising them for want of materials. The canoes also are of the same shape, but they are composed only of very narrow planks, four or five feet long, and would, at the most, carry but four men. I saw only three on this part of the island; and I should not be surprised, if, in a short time, through the want of wood, there should not be one remaining. In fact, they have learnt to do without them, for they swim so perfectly well, that in the highest sea they go two leagues out, and search, by choice at their return on shore, the places where the surf breaks with the greatest violence.

The coast seemed to be stocked with very little fish, and, I believe, the vegetable kingdom supplies all the food of the inhabitants, who live on potatoes, yams, bananas, sugar-cane, and a small fruit which grows on the rocks at the sea side, resembling the bunches of raisins found in the neighbourhood of the tropics in the Atlantic Ocean. We cannot reckon, among their resources, a few fowls, which, in this island, are so rare, that our travellers did not see a single land bird, and sea-fowl are by no means common.

In the cultivation of their land these islanders shew great intelligence, pulling up the weeds, burning them in heaps, and thus fertilizing the ground with their cinders. The banana trees are planted in a straight line by the cord. They also cultivate the solanum, morel, or nightshade, but I know not to what use it is applied. If I had observed vessels capable of resisting fire, I should have supposed that they dress it like spinage, as at Madagascar or the Isle of France. But they have no other manner of cooking their victuals than that of the Society Islands,  
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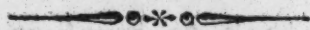
by digging a hole in the earth, and covering their potatoes or yams with hot stones and coals mixed with earth, so that all their food is baked as it were in an oven.

The care they took to measure my ship, proved that they did not behold our works of art with the unobservant gaze of stupidity. For they examined our cables, our anchors, our compass, our steering wheel, and came the next morning with a line to take the dimensions, which led me to think that they had some discussion of the subject on shore, and some doubts remained. But I only esteem them the less, because they are so capable of reflection. By not making use of our power against them, we gave occasion for one reflection to arise in their minds, and even that may perhaps escape them: yet they were not entirely blind to it, since they fled at the moment a musket was presented.

So far different was our conduct, that we landed on their island only to confer benefits, and load them with presents. In their fields we sowed useful grain; in their habitations we left pigs, goats, and sheep, which will probably increase, and in exchange demanded nothing; yet did they attack us with stones, and rob us of every thing they could pilfer. I repeat, that in other circumstances to have behaved with such lenity, would have been extremely imprudent: but I was determined to depart in the night, and, I flattered myself, that in the morning when they could no longer perceive our vessels, they would attribute this sudden departure to our just contempt for their practices; and, by this reflection, they may be amended. Be this opinion as it may, and perhaps it is chimerical, navigators are little interested in the event, since this Island \* scarcely affords any resources

\* Easter Island, discovered in 1722 by Roggewein, appears, as La Pérouse observes, to have experienced a revolution both in its population

sources for ships, and the Society Islands are not far distant.



## CHAP. V.

EXCURSION OF M. DE LANGLE INTO THE INTERIOR OF EASTER ISLAND—NEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANNERS AND ARTS OF THE NATIVES, THE QUALITY AND CULTIVATION OF THEIR SOIL, ETC.

"I SET out at eight in the morning, accompanied by Messrs. Dagelet, de Lamanon, Dufresne, Duché, l'Abbé Mongès, Father Receveur, and the Gardener, and went about two leagues to the eastward towards the interior of the island. Our journey was very difficult over small hills covered with volcanic stones. But I soon perceived paths which communicated from dwelling to dwelling. We took advantage of them, and visited several plantations of yams and potatoes. The soil of these plantations was a very fat vegetative earth, which the Gardener judged proper for the culture of our grain; he therefore sowed cabbages, carrots, beet, maize, and gourds. We endeavoured to make the natives understand that these seeds would produce fruits or roots for their sustenance. They understood us perfectly, and then showed us the best land, pointing out the places where they wished to see our new productions arise. To these leguminous plants, we

population and the productions of its soil. We must, at least, draw that inference, from the difference in the accounts of these two navigators. The Reader who wishes to compare them, may consult the *Voyage de Roggevein*, printed at the Hague, in 1739, or the extract which the President de Brosses gives in his work, entitled, *Histoires de Navigations aux Terres Australes*, vol. ii. 226, and following pages.—*French Editor*.

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added seeds of orange, citron, and cotton, endeavouring to make them comprehend they were trees, and that what we had previously sown were plants.

“ We found no other shrubs than the paper mulberry tree \*, and a species of the mimosa or sensitive plant: there appeared several considerable fields of the morel, which they seemed to cultivate in lands impoverished by yams and potatoes. We continued our route towards the mountains, which, though very lofty, all terminate in gentle declivities, and are covered with grass; on them we perceived no traces of floods or torrents.

“ After having gone about two leagues to the eastward, we returned by the south towards the south east side, which our ships had sailed along the evening before; and where, with the aid of our telescopes, we had observed several monuments. Many of these were thrown down, and it appeared that the inhabitants take no care to repair them, while others remained standing, with their platforms half ruined. The largest of those I measured was 16 feet 10 inches high, comprehending the capital, which is three feet one inch, and of a very light porous lava. Its breadth, at the shoulders, was six feet seven inches, and its thickness at the base two feet seven inches.

Having at length descried a collection of huts, I directed my steps to this little village as it were, of which one of the houses was 330 feet in length, and in the shape of an inverted canoe. Very near this hut we observed the foundations of several others, which now no longer exist; they are composed of lava cut into stones, in which there are holes of about

\* *Morus papyrifera*, which abounds in Japan, where a preparation of the bark is used for paper. With this bark, which is very ligneous, the women of Louisiana make various articles, together with the silk produced upon the tree, while the leaf affords nourishment for the silk-worm. This tree also grows in France.---  
*French Editor.*

two inches diameter. This part of the island appeared better cultivated and more populous than Cook's Bay, and the monuments and platforms more numerous. On several of the stones of which these platforms are composed, we remarked skeletons rudely sketched, and discovered holes closed up with stones, which, as we conjectured, lead to caverns containing the remains of the dead. An Indian explained to us by very expressive signs, that they were inhumed there, and afterwards ascended to Heaven. On the sea shore we met with several pyramids of stone arranged nearly like balls in a park of artillery, and perceived some human bones in the neighbourhood of the pyramids and statues, of which the latter had always their backs directed towards the sea.

"The next morning we visited seven platforms, on which were statues either standing or fallen. They only differed in size, or the ravages time had committed on them in proportion to their antiquity. We found near the last of them a kind of layman or effigy of reeds, representing a man ten feet high, and covered with a white manufacture of the country; the head of a natural size, the body thin, the legs pretty exactly proportionate, and a net hanging to its neck in the shape of a basket covered with white cloths, and apparently containing grass. By the side of this sack was the figure of a child two feet long, with the arms crossed and the legs hanging down. This layman, which could not have stood there many years, was perhaps the model from which statues are now erecting to the chiefs of their country. By the side of this same platform were two parapets forming an inclosure of 384 feet length by 324 broad. We could not discover whether this was a reservoir for water, or the outline of a fortress against enemies; but it seemed a work left unfinished by its constructors.

"Continuing our route westward, we met about twenty

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twenty children under the care of some women, and walking apparently towards the houses I have just mentioned.

“ At the southernmost extremity of the island, we saw the crater of an ancient volcano, whose size, depth, and regularity excited our admiration. It resembled the frustrum of the cone, whose upper and larger basis appeared more than two miles in circumference. The extent of the lower basis may be estimated, by supposing the side of the cone to form an angle of  $30^{\circ}$  with a perpendicular; the inferior basis forms a perfect circle, its bottom, which is marshy, containing several considerable pools of fresh water, whose surface appeared above the level of the sea. The depth of the crater is at least 800 feet.

“ Father Receveur, who descended into the crater, informed us that the marsh was surrounded by the finest plantations of banana and mulberry trees; and it appeared, as we had observed when coasting the island, that there had been a considerable falling away of the land on the side next the sea, which had caused a great breach in the crater, the height of which is equal to one third of the cone, and its breadth a tenth of the upper circumference. The grass on the sides of the cone, the marsh at the base, and the fertility of the adjacent lands, prove that the subterraneous fires have long been extinguished\*, and we saw at the bottom of the crater the only birds we met with on the whole island: these were the water swallow. Night obliged us to return towards our vessels, when we observed near one of the houses we passed a great number of children, who fled at our approach. We imagined that in this house all the children of the district were lodged, for their ages were too similar to admit of their belonging to the

\* On the side of the crater next the sea is a statue almost entirely destroyed by time, which proves that several ages have elapsed since the volcano has burnt out.

two women who appeared to have the care of them. Near to this house was an earth hole, where yams and potatoes were dressed in the manner practised in the Society Islands.

“ On my return to the tent, I gave to three different inhabitants the three species of animals we destined for this island, making choice of those which appeared most likely to propagate.

“ These islanders are hospitable, and frequently offered us potatoes and sugar canes, but never omitted an opportunity of plundering us when they could effect it with impunity. Scarcely the tenth part of the country is cultivated, and the lands already cleared are in an oblong form, and extremely regular, but without any kind of inclosure, the rest of the island being covered with a very coarse grass, which extends to the very summit of the mountains. It was then the wet season, and we found the earth moistened a foot deep. Some holes in the hills contained a little fresh water, but no where did we find any running stream. The soil appeared of good quality, but were it advantageously watered, would have a livelier vegetation. We did not perceive among these people any implements of agriculture, and it is probable that when they have cleared the land, they make holes with stakes, and then plant their yams and potatoes. We found, though very rarely, a few bushes of mimosa, of which the thickest are only three inches in diameter at the stem. The most probable conjectures concerning the government of these islanders is, that they compose but a single nation divided into as many districts as there are *morais*; for we observed that the villages are built near these cemeteries. It appears that the productions of the earth are common to all the inhabitants of the same district, and as men offer their wives to strangers without the least delicacy or reserve, it may be supposed they do not belong to any man in particular, and

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and that as soon as children are weaned, they are delivered to other women, who in each district are charged with their management.

“ In this island we met with twice as many men as women ; and if they are not in fact less numerous than the men, their apparent paucity must have arisen from their being more domestic. Their whole population may be estimated at 2000, while the number of houses we saw building, and of their children, gave us reason to conclude their population is not on the decline. But there is ground to believe, however, that the inhabitants were more numerous when the island was better wooded. Had the inhabitants sufficient industry to build cisterns, they would remedy one of the greatest misfortunes of their situation, and might even prolong their lives, for we did not see one man that appeared more than sixty-five years of age, if we may be supposed to judge with accuracy of a people we knew so slightly, and whose mode of life is so different from our own.

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## C H A P. VI.

DEPARTURE FROM EASTER ISLAND—ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS—ARRIVAL AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS—ANCHORAGE IN THE BAY OF KERIPOREPO, IN THE ISLAND OF MOWEE—DEPARTURE FROM THAT ISLAND.

ON quitting Cook's Bay, in Easter Island, in the evening of the 10th, I steered to the northward, coasting the island by moon light at a league's distance, and I did not lose sight of it till the next day at two in the afternoon, though we were then from it about 20 leagues. The wind blew constantly between S. E. and E. S. E. till the 17th, but the weather

ther was perfectly clear, and did not change and become cloudy till the wind came round to E. N. E. where it settled from the 17th to the 20th. At that time we began to catch *bonitas*\* which constantly followed our ships as far as the Sandwich islands, and furnished every day, during six weeks, a complete allowance for the whole of our crews. This wholesome food preserved their health in the best state; and after ten months navigation, during which we were only twenty-five days in port, we had not one man sick on board either of our ships. We were navigating in unknown seas, and our track was parallel to that of Captain Cook in 1777, when he sailed from the Society Islands for the N. W. coast of America, though we were about 800 leagues more to the eastward. I had flattered myself that in a run of near 2000 leagues I should have made some discoveries, and constantly kept men at the mast head, to whom I had promised a reward for the first who should discover land; while, in order to command a more extensive view, our ships kept a-breast of each other during the day, leaving between them a space of 3 or 4 leagues.

During this passage, as on all other occasions, M. Dagelet never omitted any opportunity to take lunar observations, which agreed so well with M. Berthoud's time-keepers, that they never differed above 10 or 15 minutes of a degree, and thus became a check on each other. M. de Langle found his results equally satisfactory, and by the difference between the longitude, by account, and that by observation, we knew each day the direction of the currents. They carried us to the westward as far as  $1^{\circ}$  S. lat. at the rate of about 3 leagues in 24 hours, where they changed to the eastward, running with the same degree of rapidity as far as  $7^{\circ}$  north, where

\* A fish, so called, the oil of which becomes luminous when agitated.—See note, p. 11.

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they again resumed their westerly direction. On our arrival at the Sandwich islands, our longitude by account differed about  $5^{\circ}$  from that by observation, whereas, had we, like the ancient navigators, possessed no means of taking lunar observations, we should have laid down the Sandwich islands  $5^{\circ}$  further to the eastward. Doubtless it is from this setting of the currents, so little attended to in former times, that the errors of the Spanish maps have arisen: for it is remarkable that the islands discovered by Quiros, Mendana and other navigators of that nation, have been again found in these later periods, but always at a greater distance from the coast of America than in their charts. And, I may add, that had not the self-love of our pilots been hurt by the difference which daily occurred between our longitude by account and that by observation, we should have found an error of 8 or  $10^{\circ}$  in making the island; and consequently in less enlightened times we should have placed the Sandwich islands  $10^{\circ}$  more to the eastward.

These reflections left me much in doubt concerning the existence of the cluster of islands called by the Spaniards *La Mesa*, *Los Majos*, *La Disgraciada*. In the chart which Admiral Anson took on board the Spanish galleon, and of which the Editor of his voyage has given an engraving, that cluster is placed precisely in the same latitude as the Sandwich Islands, but  $16^{\circ}$  or  $17^{\circ}$  more to the eastward. My daily differences in longitude made me believe these islands were absolutely the same\*; but what fully convinced

\* In the course of the years 1786 and 1787, Captain Dixon put in three times at the Sandwich Islands, and entertaining the same doubts as La Pérouse, on the identity of these islands, and those called *Los Majos*, *La Mesa*, &c. and after having made these remarks, drew precisely the same conclusions, as may be seen by the following extracts from his voyage.

"The islands *Los Majos*, *La Mesa*, and *Santa Maria de la Gorta*,  
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ced me of it was the name of *Mesa*, or Table, given by the Spaniards to the island of Owhyhee. I had read in Captain King's description of this same island, that after having doubled the easternmost point they discovered a mountain called Mowna-Roa, which is perceived a long time before: "It is, (says he) flat at the top, making what is called by mariners *table-land*," an English word uncommonly expressive of its form.

Though the season was now far advanced, and I had not a moment to sacrifice before my arrival on

laid down by Mr. Roberts, from 18 deg. 30 min. to 28 deg. north latitude, and from 135 deg. to 149 deg. west longitude,\* and copied by him from a Spanish M. S. chart, were in vain looked for by us, and to use Maurelle's words, "*it may be pronounced that no such Islands are to be found*;" so that their intention has uniformly been to mislead rather than assist succeeding navigators.

"Our observations at noon, on the 8th of May, gave 17 deg. 4 min. north latitude, and 129 deg. 57 min. west longitude: in this situation we looked for an island called by the Spaniards *Roco Partida*, but in vain; however, we stood to the northward under an easy sail, and kept a good look out, expecting soon to fall in with the group of islands already mentioned.

"From the 11th to the 14th, we lay to every night, and when we made sail in the morning, spread at the distance of eight or ten miles, standing westerly; it being probable that though the Spaniards might have been correct in the latitude of these islands, yet they might be easily mistaken several degrees in their longitude; but our latitude on the 15th at noon being 20 deg. 9 min. north, and in 140 deg. 1 min. west longitude, which is considerably to the westward of any island laid down by the Spaniards, we concluded, and with reason, that there must be some gross mistake in the chart."

"On the first of November, we looked out for Sta. Maria le Gorta, which is laid down in Cook's chart, in 27 deg. 50 min north latitude, and 149 deg. west longitude, and the same afternoon sailed directly over it. Indeed we scarcely expected to meet with any such place, as it is copied by Mr. Roberts into the above chart, from the same authority which we had found to be erroneous, respecting Los Majos and Roco Partida."

\* It must be observed, that Dixon reckons the longitudes westward, while Cook in his 3d voyage reckons them eastward. For the former having sailed westward to double Cape Horn, found that mode of reckoning more natural and convenient.



the coast of America, I immediately determined to shape a course so as to demonstrate the truth or falsehood of my opinion. Had I been in an error, the result must have brought me to a second cluster of islands, forgotten perhaps for above a century by the Spaniards, and have determined their precise situation and distance, from the Sandwich islands. Those who know me best, however, will not suppose I was guided in this research by any desire to deprive Captain Cook of the honour of this discovery. On the contrary, filled with admiration and respect for that great man, he will ever appear in my eyes the ablest of navigators, and the first who has precisely determined the situation of these islands; explored their coasts, described the manners, customs, and religion of their inhabitants; a knowledge, for which, we must ever regret, he has paid with his life. He indeed is the Columbus of that country, of the coast of Alaska, and of almost all the islands of the South Sea. Ignorance may, by chance, discover a few islands but it belongs only to great men like him to leave nothing unexplored that appertains to the countries they have visited. Mariners, philosophers, and naturalists, all find in his voyages the objects of their research. Every man, at least every navigator, owes a tribute of gratitude to his memory, and how can I withhold my suffrage at the moment when I am approaching the cluster of Islands where he so tragically finished his career?

On the 7th of May, in  $8^{\circ}$  N. lat. we perceived several birds of the petrel kind, together with those called *frégates* and *paille en ouls*, of which the two first are said not to go far from land. We also observed several turtles pass along side; and the Astrolabe caught two exceedingly good, which were divided with us. The birds and turtles followed us as far as  $14^{\circ}$ , and I have no doubt we were passing near some island, though probably uninhabited; for

a rock in the middle of the sea is a better refuge to these animals than a cultivated country. At that time we were very near Rocca-Partida and Nublada, and I shaped my course to pass nearly in sight of the former, if its longitude should appear to be accurately laid down; but I was not willing to run into its latitude, not having a single day to give up to this research. I knew well that in this course it was improbable I should fall in with it, and I was but little surprised at not getting sight of it. When we had passed its latitude the birds disappeared, and till my arrival at the Sandwich islands over a space of 500 leagues, we never saw more than two or three in a day.

On the 15th I was in  $19^{\circ} 17'$  N. lat., and  $130^{\circ}$  W. long. which is the latitude of the group of islands laid down on the Spanish charts, as well as of the Sandwich islands, though 100 leagues to the eastward of the former, and 460 of the latter. Thinking I should render an important service to geography, if I relieved our charts from these empty names of islands that have no existence, and perpetuate errors that are extremely prejudicial to navigation; I was desirous to banish all doubt, by extending my track as far as the Sandwich Islands. I even formed an intention of passing between the island of Owhyhee, and that of Mowee, which the English had not an opportunity of exploring. I therefore proposed to land at Mowee to barter for some provisions, and to depart without losing another moment. I knew that by only partially executing this plan, and running but 200 leagues on that line, I should give room for the doubts of sceptics. I was desirous that not the smallest objection should remain to oppose my conclusions.

On the 18th of May I was in  $20^{\circ}$  N. lat., and  $139^{\circ}$  W. long., precisely on the spot assigned to the Spanish island Disgraciada, and had no indication whatever of land.

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On the 20th I passed through the middle of the whole group of Los Majos, and I never had less reason to think myself in the vicinity of any island. I continued to run to the westward on this parallel between  $20^{\circ}$  and  $21^{\circ}$ , and at length, in the morning of the 28th, I descried the mountains of Owhyhee covered with snow, and soon after of Mowee, somewhat less elevated. I crowded sail to near the land, but was at a distance of seven or eight leagues from it at night-fall, which we spent standing off and on, waiting for day break to enter the channel between these two islands, and to search for anchorage under the lee of Mowee, near the island of Morokinne. Our longitudes, by observation, agreed so perfectly with those of Captain Cook, that having pricked off the ship's place, on the English chart, by our bearings we found a difference of only 10 miles, which we were more to the eastward.

At nine in the morning I had the point of Mowee bearing west  $15^{\circ}$  N., and perceived a small island bearing west  $22^{\circ}$  N., which the English were not within sight of, and have therefore omitted to delineate on their chart, which is, in this part, very defective, while all they have laid down from their own observations deserves the highest praise. The island of Mowee afforded a most fascinating prospect. I ranged along it at the distance of a league, where it runs into the channel to the S. W. by W. We beheld the torrents rushing in cataracts from the proud summits of the lofty mountains, and discharging themselves into the sea, after watering the habitations of the natives, which are so numerous, that a space of three or four leagues appears to form only a single village. But all the houses are situated by the sea side, and the mountains are so near them, that the inhabitable skirt seemed to be less than half a league in breadth. It would be impossible to form an idea of the sensations this prospect excited in us, without being a seaman, and reduced

reduced, like us, to a bottle of water per day. The trees that crowned these mountains, the verdure, the bananas, around the dwellings, every thing, except the sea breaking with the greatest violence on the shore, contributed to enchant us; and, like Tantalus, we descried and devoured with our eyes, what it was impossible for us to reach.

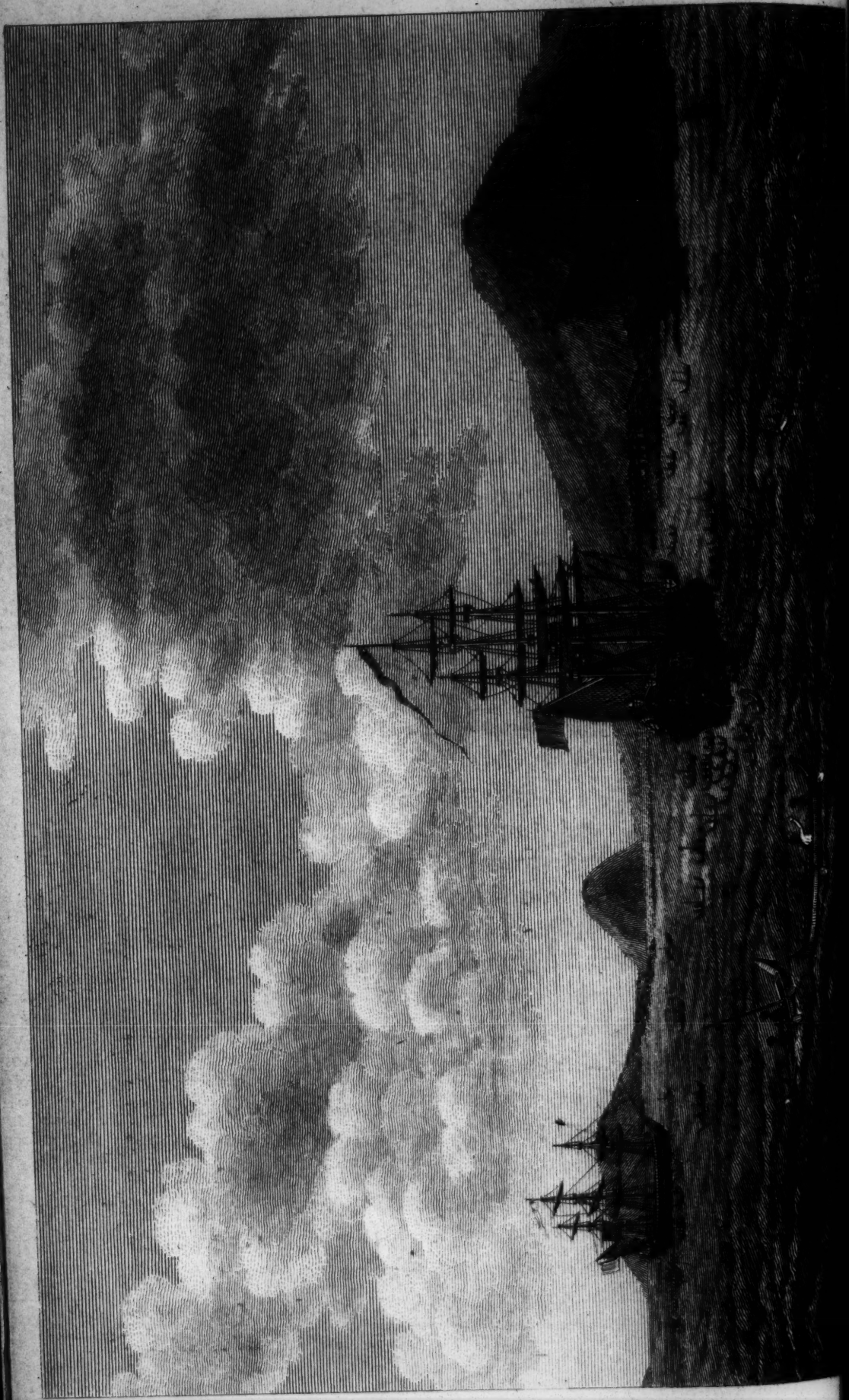
The wind freshened, we were running six miles an hour, and I was desirous, before night, to complete the survey of this part of the island, as far as the island of Morokinne, under which I flattered myself we should find an anchorage sheltered from the trade-winds. This plan, which was the result of unavoidable circumstances, did not admit of my shortening sail to wait for about 150 canoes that put off from shore, loaded with fruits and pigs, which the Indians proposed to exchange for pieces of iron.

Almost all the canoes came along side one or other of our ships, but we sailed so fast that they filled with water. The Indians were forced to let go the rope we had thrown out to them. They threw themselves into the sea, swam after their pigs, and bringing them back in their arms, hoisted up the canoes on their shoulders, emptied the water they had shipped, and got into them again; endeavouring, by means of paddling, to regain the situation along side of us they had been obliged to abandon, and which had been immediately seized by others, who successively experienced similar misfortunes. Thus we saw above 40 canoes successively upset; and although the trade we carried on with these good Indians was extremely beneficial to both parties, we could not possibly procure above 15 pigs, and some fruit, for we were deprived of opportunity to exchange near 300 more.

The canoes had out-riggers, each held from three to five men, and their medium length was 24 feet, only one foot broad, and nearly as much in depth. We weighed one of that size, which did not exceed  
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50lb. In these slight vessels the inhabitants of these islands make passages of 60 leagues, traverse channels 20 leagues wide, as that between Atooi and Wohao, where the sea is very heavy, but they swim so perfectly well, that they can only be compared with sea wolves and phocæ.

In proportion as we advanced, the mountains seemed to retreat within the island, which exhibited the appearance of a vast amphitheatre, though its verdure had a yellow cast. We now no longer perceived cascades; the trees grew even much less close; the villages consisted only of ten or twelve huts at a considerable distance from each other; we every moment found cause to regret the country we had quitted, and found no shelter but where our eyes beheld a frightful shore, from which the lava had formerly rolled, like the cascades which, in the other part of the island, now fall from the mountains.

After having steered S. W. by W. as far as the S. W. point of the island of Mowee, I hauled up west, and afterwards N. W., to gain an anchorage which the *Astrolabe* had already taken in 23 fathoms water, on a bottom of grey sand, about a mile from the land. We were sheltered from the sea breezes by a large hill, capped with clouds, which, from time to time, gave us some very hard squalls; and the winds shifting every instant, we were incessantly dragging our anchors. This road was rendered the more inconvenient by currents, which prevented our coming head to wind, excepting in squalls, which caused so heavy a sea, that our boats had the greatest difficulty to live. However I sent one off immediately to sound round our ships, and the officer informed me that the bottom was the same as far as the shore, that the water shoaled gradually, and there were seven fathoms at two cables length from the beach. But after weighing the anchor, I found that our cable was absolutely

absolutely useless; and that there must be many rocks covered only with a light thin bed of sand.

The Indians from the villages on this part of the island were eager to come on board in their canoes, bringing us, for traffic, some pigs, potatoes, banana, roots of *pied de veau*, which the Indians called *tarro*, with cloths and some other curiosities, which form part of their habiliments; but I would not permit them to come on board till the ship was anchored, and the sails furled. I told them I was *Taboo*\*; and that

\* A word which, according to their religion, expresses any thing that may not be touched, or a consecrated place which they may not enter.

For the signification of words in the language of the Sandwich Islands, we may rely on the vocabulary of Captain Cook, who made a long stay in these islands, and in his communications with the islanders, possessed advantages which no other navigator has been able to obtain. To all these grounds of confidence in him, we may add the known talents of Anderson, by whom he was so well assisted.

Dixon gives a vocabulary of their language, in which he makes *taboo* signify embargo, though in his journal he explains the ceremony of imposing the *taboo* in the same manner as Captain Cook.

The following is a comparison of several words taken from the two vocabularies, which proves what mistakes may be made when to a perfect ignorance of a language is added the uncertainty of the pronunciation of the words, the manner of expressing which varies in almost every individual:

CORRESPONDING WORDS TAKEN FROM THE VOCABULARIES.

| <i>English words.</i> | <i>Cook's.</i>               | <i>Dixon's.</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Cocoa Nuts, . . . . . | Eeneeo, . . . . .            | Neehu.          |
| The Sun, . . . . .    | Hai, Raa, . . . . .          | Malarma.        |
| A Gourd, . . . . .    | Aieebo, . . . . .            | Tibo.           |
| A Woman, . . . . .    | { Waheine, }<br>{ Maheine, } | Cohaheene.      |
| Brother, . . . . .    | Tooanna, . . . . .           | Titunanie.      |
| A Cord, . . . . .     | Heaho, . . . . .             | Touro.          |

Cook's vocabulary, though more perfect than that of Dixon, supports my assertion. We find the word denoting a woman different in two places; he repeats it without hesitation, and probably he learned its signification of two persons whose pronunciation was different, for in one place he writes *wahene*, and in the other *maheine*.—*French Editor.*

word,



word, which I had learnt from the accounts of English navigators, produced all the effect I could have expected. M. de Langle, not having used the same caution, had for a moment the deck of his ship greatly incommoded by a croud of Indians; who were however so docile and fearful of giving offence, that we made them return to their canoes with the greatest ease. When I had suffered them to come on board, they stirred not a step without our consent, their looks betrayed a constant fear of displeasing us, and their commerce was conducted with the most perfect good faith.

Old pieces of iron hoops particularly attracted their attention and awakened their desire, nor did they want address to procure them by the managment of their bargains; for never would they sell a quantity of stuff, or a number of pigs by wholesale, well judging it would be more advantageous to demand a separate price for every article.

Their habits of commerce, and their knowledge of the use of iron, for which, according to their own confession, they are not indebted to the English, are additional proofs of the communication which formerly existed between these people and the Spaniards\*, who, a century ago, had very strong reasons

\* It appears certain that these islands were discovered for the first time by Gaétano, in 1542. This navigator sailed from the port of La Natividad, on the western coast of Mexico, in 20. N. lat. steering to the westward; and after having run 900 leagues on that point of the compass, (consequently without changing his latitude) he fell in with a group of islands inhabited by savages almost naked. These islands were surrounded with coral, were stocked with cocoa-nuts, and several other fruits, but possessed neither gold nor silver; he called them the Islands of the Kings, probably on account of the day when the discovery was made; and he named that which he discovered about 20 leagues farther west the Island of Gardens. From this account it would have been impossible for geographers not to place the discoveries of Gaétano precisely in the same spot where Captain Cook afterwards found the Sandwich Islands.

reasons for the concealment of these islands. The western seas of America were formerly infested with pirates, who would have derived supplies of provisions from these islanders, the difficulty of procuring which obliged them to run westward towards the Indian Seas, or return by Cape Horn to the Atlantic Ocean. When the navigation of the Spaniards in the west was reduced to a single galleon from Manilla, I believe that vessel, which was extremely rich, was limited by the proprietors to a certain track, which diminished their risk. Thus, by degrees, has this nation lost perhaps even the remembrance of these islands, retained by Lieut. Roberts on the general chart of Cook's voyage, in their ancient supposed situation of  $15^{\circ}$  to the eastward of the Sandwich Islands. Their identity however with these latter being, in my opinion, established, I have

Islands. But the Spanish Editor adds, that these islands are situated between  $9^{\circ}$  and  $11^{\circ}$  lat. instead of between  $19^{\circ}$  and  $21^{\circ}$ , as navigators must conclude from the track pursued by Gaétano.

Was the omission of these ten degrees an error in the figures, or a contrivance of the policy of the Spanish Court, which had a great interest, a century ago, in concealing the situation of all the islands in this ocean?

I am inclined to believe it is an error in the figures, for it would have been very bad management to have published that Gaétano departed from  $20^{\circ}$  lat. and steered due west. Had it been their intention to have concealed the true latitude, they might, with as little difficulty, have ascribed his course to another point of the compass.

However this may be, every thing coincides except the ten degrees, which must be added to the latitude given them by Gaétano. The distance from the coast of Mexico; the people; their natural productions; the coast equally surrounded with coral; and, lastly, the extent from north to south is the same: the bearing of the Sandwich Islands being nearly between the  $19^{\circ}$  and  $21^{\circ}$ , as that of Gaétano is between  $9^{\circ}$  and  $11^{\circ}$ .

This further proof, joined with those before cited, reduces this geographical question to the greatest degree of certainty; to which, however, I may add, that there does not exist any cluster of Islands between the  $9^{\circ}$  and  $11^{\circ}$  degree, through which lies the usual track of the galleons from Acapulco to Manilla.

thought



thought it my duty to expunge them from the surface of the ocean.

It was so late before our sails were furled, that I was obliged to defer till the morrow my landing on the island, where nothing could detain me but the advantage of an easy watering place. We soon perceived, however, that this part of the coast enjoyed no running streams, the declivity of the mountains having directed the course of the rains to windward. The labour of a few days would perhaps suffice to render this blessing common to the whole island; but these Indians who, in other respects, are greatly advanced, have not yet arrived at this species of industry. Their form of government may be learnt from the accounts of the English, and the extreme subordination which reigns among them sufficiently proves an acknowledged authority exists, extending gradually from the king to the most inconsiderable chief, and ultimately bearing on the people. I was pleased and entertained by an imaginary comparison of these Indians with those of Easter Island, whose industry is, at least, equally advanced; for the monuments of the latter evince more intelligence, their cloths are better manufactured, and their houses better constructed, though their government is so defective that no one has the power of suppressing disorder. They acknowledge no authority, and though I do not believe them to be depraved, it too commonly happens that licentiousness generates disagreeable and often fatal consequences. In this comparison every advantage was in favour of the Sandwich Islands, notwithstanding the death of Capt. Cook had excited all my prejudice against them. It is more natural for navigators to regret with anxiety the loss of so great a man, than to examine, in the cool-blooded spirit of investigation, whether some rashness or imprudence on his part did not, in some measure, compel

compel the inhabitants of Owhyhee to stand on their own defence\*.

The

\* It is but too clearly proved, that the English were the aggressors, a truth which they would in vain endeavour to conceal. I draw my proofs from the accounts of Captain King himself, who was the particular friend of Captain Cook, and regarded him as his father, while the islanders believed him to bear that relation, and who, after a faithful narration of the events which led to his death, adds: "I was fearful that his confidence might at some unlucky moment put him too much off his guard."

The reader may judge of the fact himself, by a comparison of the following circumstances.

Cook too inconsiderately gave orders for firing in case the workmen should be disturbed, notwithstanding the experience he had of the massacre of ten of Captain Furneaux's crew, occasioned by two shots fired on the Zealanders, who had committed a petty theft of bread and fish.

Parcea, one of the chiefs, on claiming his canoe which had been seized by the crew, was knocked down by a violent blow with an oar which struck him on the head. When recovered from the shock, he had the generosity to forget the violence committed on him, and a short time afterwards returned with a hat that had been stolen, which he restored, and even expressed a fear that Captain Cook should kill or punish him.

Previous to any other offence having been committed, except the stealing of the boat, two guns were fired on a couple of large canoes which were endeavouring to make off.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, Cook marched to the village where the king was, and received all the usual marks of respect, the inhabitants prostrating themselves before him.

Nothing indicated any hostile intentions on the part of the Islanders, when the boats stationed across the bay fired again on the canoes which attempted to escape, and unfortunately killed a chief of the highest rank.

His death enraged the inhabitants, one of whom only shewed marks of defiance to Captain Cook by menacing him with a stone. On this man Captain Cook fired, but the ball was prevented from taking effect by the mat with which he was covered: that shot, however, becoming the signal for combat, Phillips was on the point of being stabbed, when Cook fired a second time with ball and killed the native who was nearest to him: the attack immediately became more serious, and the marines and sailors fired a discharge of musquetry.

Already four of the former were killed, and three others, together with the lieutenant, wounded, when Captain Cook perceiving his danger, approached the water's edge, calling to the boats

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The night was very moderate, with the exception of a few squalls, which did not continue so much as two minutes at a time. About day-break the long-boat of the *Astrolabe* was dispatched with Messrs. De Vaujuas, Boutin, and Bernizet, who had orders to sound a very deep bay which lay to the N. W. and where I suspected there was better anchorage; but this other anchoring place, though equally attainable, was not more commodious than that we already occupied. According to the account of these officers, this part of the island of Mowee affording navigators neither wood nor water, and having very inconvenient road-steds, must naturally be little frequented.

At eight in the morning four boats were ready to set off from our two ships; the two first carrying 20 soldiers under arms, commanded by M. de Pierrevert, one of my lieutenants, and in the two others were M. de Langle and myself, followed by all the passengers and the officers not on duty. This warlike train gave no alarm to the natives, who, from day-break, lay alongside us in their canoes. They did not follow us on shore, but continued their traffic, and preserved an air of confidence which their countenances had never before expressed. About 120 people, men and women, awaited our arrival on the beach. The soldiers with their officers first landed; we marked the spot we meant to reserve for our quarters, and the soldiers, with bayonets fixed, performed their manœuvres with the same exactitude as in the presence of an enemy. These ce-

to cease firing, and come close in shore to re-embark his little party; but he was the same moment stabbed in the back and fell forwards into the sea.

We may add, that Cook intending, forcibly or otherwise, to carry the king and his family on board; and having for that purpose to penetrate some way up the country, made too weak an arrangement for his object, in taking with him only a detachment of ten men.—*French Editor.*

remonies made no impresson whatever on the natives; and the women evinced, by the most unequivocal gestures, that they would grant us every possible mark of their kindness; while the men, with a respectful demeanor, endeavoured to discover the motives of our visit merely to anticipate our wishes. Two Indians, who appeared to have some authority over the rest, advanced, and, with an air of considerable gravity, making a pretty long harangue, of which I did not comprehend a syllable, offered me each a pig, by way of present, which I accordingly accepted, and, in return, gave them some medals, hatchets, and pieces of iron, which, in their eyes, are of inestimable value. My liberality produced a great effect, and the women redoubled their caresses, though their persons were far from seducing. Their features were void of delicacy, and their dress suffered us to perceive that the syphilis had committed ravages on the greater number. As no woman came on board in the canoes, I imagined they attributed to the Europeans that malady of which they bore the marks: but I soon perceived that this idea, if it existed, had not left a spark of resentment in their mind.

Let me, however, be permitted to examine whether the modern navigators are the real authors of these evils, and if the crime with which they reproach themselves in their accounts is not, in fact, rather imaginary than real. That my conjectures may have the greater weight, I shall rest them on the observations of Mr. Rollin, a very intelligent man, and surgeon-major on board my ship. He visited several inhabitants in this island who were attacked by that disease, and not only remarked symptoms which in Europe would require 12 or 15 years to be gradually developed, but also observed children seven or eight years old infected with this disorder, which they could only have contracted at the breast. I shall add,

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add, that Capt. Cook, in his first voyage to the Sandwich Islands, only landed at Atooi and Oneeheow; and that nine months after, when returning from the north, he found almost all the inhabitants of Mowee, who came on board, infected with that malady. Mowee being 60 leagues to windward of Atooi, so rapid a progress must excite some doubts concerning its origin\*. If to these remarks we add the communication which formerly existed between these islanders and the Spaniards, it will appear probable they have long shared, with other nations, all the evils produced by this scourge of the human race.

This discussion was due to modern navigators, whom all Europe, misled by their own accounts, would for ever have reproached with a crime, the conductors of those expeditions deemed it impossible to prevent. But their not having taken sufficient precautions to prevent the evil, is a reproach they cannot escape. Were it even demonstrated, that the introduction of this malady is not attributable to their imprudence, it is not equally clear that their communication with these people has not increased its activity, and rendered its consequences more terrible†.

After visiting the village, I ordered a serjeant and six soldiers to accompany us, leaving the rest on the

\* It appeared to Captain Cook, that the inhabitants of Mowee had been informed of his touching at Atooi and Oneeheow. *Cook's 3d Voyage*, vol. iii. We ought not, therefore, to wonder, that the disease and the news passed together. Bougainville is convinced the inhabitants of the islands, at a considerable distance from each other in the Pacific Ocean, keep up a reciprocal communication. *Voyage Autour du Monde par Bougainville*, p. 234.—*French Editor*.

† Doubtless the modern navigators are justly reproached for knowingly communicating the venereal disease to the islands of the South Sea; Captain Cook does not disguise it in his accounts, as may be seen particularly from his observations in his 3d Voyage, vol. ii. and vol. iii.—*French Editor*.

beach, under the orders of M. de Pierrevert, in whose care I left the boats, from which not a sailor had yet landed.

Although the French were the first of the moderns who landed on the Island of Mowee, I did not think it my duty to take possession of it in the king's name: for the customs of Europeans, in this respect, are completely ridiculous. Philosophers must, doubtless, regret there are men who, because armed with bayonets and cannon, count for nothing 60,000 of their fellow creatures; and, regardless of the most sacred rights, consider as an object of conquest, a land which the inhabitants have fertilized with the sweat of their brow, and has contained for ages the tombs of their ancestors. Happily these countries have been discovered in times when religion no longer affords a pretext for outrage and cupidity. The object of modern navigators in describing the manners of new nations is only to complete the history of man; and their expeditions ought to complete our knowledge of the terraqueous globe, since the lights they spread around them are intended only to transmit new happiness, and augment the means of subsistence to the nations they visit.

On these principles we have already transported to their islands, bulls, cows, goats, sheep, and rams; we have planted their lands with trees, and sown their fields with grain; we have carried them utensils to accelerate the progress of industry: while, on our parts, the fatigues of our voyage would be amply repaid, could we but destroy that horrid custom of human sacrifice said to prevail in all the Islands of the South Sea. But, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. Anderson and Captain Cook, I think with Captain King, that a people so good, so gentle, and so hospitable, cannot really be cannibals. It is difficult to associate religious ferocity with gentleness of manners; and since Captain King relates, that the priests



priests of Owhyhee were their best friends, I must conclude, that if gentleness and humanity have made any progress among a class devoted by their office to human sacrifices, the rest of the inhabitants must be still less ferocious. It is evident, therefore, the practice of devouring human flesh no longer subsists, though, probably, the period of its cessation has not long elapsed.\*

The soil of this country is wholly composed of fragments of lava, and other volcanic matter, and the inhabitants drink only brackish water from very shallow wells, in so little abundance as to supply less than half a hoghead from each daily.

During our excursion we discovered four little villages, each containing about ten or twelve houses, which are not only covered but built with straw, and shaped like those of our poorest peasants; the roofs being in the form of a penthouse. The door, placed at the gable end, is only three feet and a half high, admits of no entrance without stooping, and is shut only with a hurdle which any one may open. The furniture of these islanders consists of matts, strewed like carpets, on which they sleep; and their only kitchen utensils are very large gourds, which they shape at pleasure while green. They varnish and delineate various designs on them, in black; and I have seen several joined together, so as to make very large vases, with a glue that resists moisture, and of which, therefore, I was very desirous of knowing the composition. Their cloths, of which they have great quantities, are made like those of the other islands from the paper mulberry, but notwithstanding they

\* The horror of these people at our suspecting them of such a practice, and especially when asked whether they had devoured the body of Captain Cook, confirms the opinion of La Pérouse; yet Captain Cook has proved to a certainty its existence among the New Zealanders; and it cannot be dissembled, that the custom of making human sacrifices, and eating enemies killed in battle, is general in all the islands of the South Sea.—*French Editor.*

are variously painted, yet, in this manufacture, they are not equally skilful with the latter. On my return I received another harangue from some women who waited for me under a tree, and presented me several pieces of cloth, for which I returned them some hatchets and nails.

The reader must not expect many particulars of a people already sufficiently known from the accounts of the English navigators, who passed four months in these islands, where we remained only a few hours. The former had the advantage of knowing the language of the country, and, therefore, we must confine ourselves to the history of our own adventures.

We began to re-embark at eleven o'clock without the least reason to complain of any misbehaviour, and were all on board by twelve. M. de Clonard had received a Chief, and purchased of him a mantle, and a beautiful helmet covered with red feathers; and had also bought more than 100 pigs, some bananas, potatoes, *taro*, a great many cloths, some matts, a canoe fitted with an outrigger, and other small articles made of feathers and shells.

At our arrival on board, our ships were driving, it blew very strong from the E. S. E., and we were dropping down upon the island of Morokinna, which, however, was sufficiently distant to admit of our hoisting in our boats. I made the signal to weigh, but before we could get our anchor up, I was obliged to make sail, and to drag it till I had passed the island, lest I should drive beyond the mouth of the channel. Had it unfortunately hooked in a rock, and had not the bottom been sufficiently hard and level for it not to take hold, I should have been obliged to cut the cable.

We had not done weighing our anchor till five in the afternoon, when it was too late to steer between Ranai and the west side of Mowee. Though it was a new channel which I was desirous to reconnoitre,

prudence



prudence forbad my attempting it by night. Till eight o'clock we had baffling light airs, with which we could not make half a league. At length the wind settled at N. E. when I steered west, passing at an equal distance from the N. W. point of the island of Tahoorowa, and the S. E. point of Ranai. At daybreak I stood in for the S. W. point of the isle of Morotoi, which I coasted at three-fourths of a league distance, and came out, as the English did, by the channel between the islands of Wohao and Morotoi. The latter did not appear inhabited on the side next us, though, according to the English, it is very populous on the other. It is remarkable, that in these islands, the most fertile and salubrious, and consequently the most inhabited parts are always to windward. Our islands of Guadaloupe, Martinico, &c. are so perfectly similar to this new cluster, that every thing appeared absolutely the same, at least, in regard to navigation.

Messrs. Dagelet and Bernizet surveyed, with the minutest care and attention, all the parts of Mowee and Morokinna we coasted, which the English were unable to do with accuracy, because never within ten leagues of the land.

On the 1st June, at six in the morning, we were clear of all the islands, having employed less than 48 hours in these surveys, and, at most, a fortnight to establish a geographical point of the greatest importance, as it removes from our maps five or six islands which have no real existence. The fish that followed us from the neighbourhood of Easter Island to our last anchorage now disappeared; and it is worthy of remark, that the same shoal of fish accompanied us 1500 leagues. Several bonitas, wounded by our fish-gigs, \* bore marks impossible to be mistaken, and we thus recognized each morning the identity of the

\* A small harpoon.

fifth we had observed the preceding evening. Doubtless, had we not put in at the Sandwich islands, they would have followed us 2 or 300 leagues further, till the climate became irresistible.

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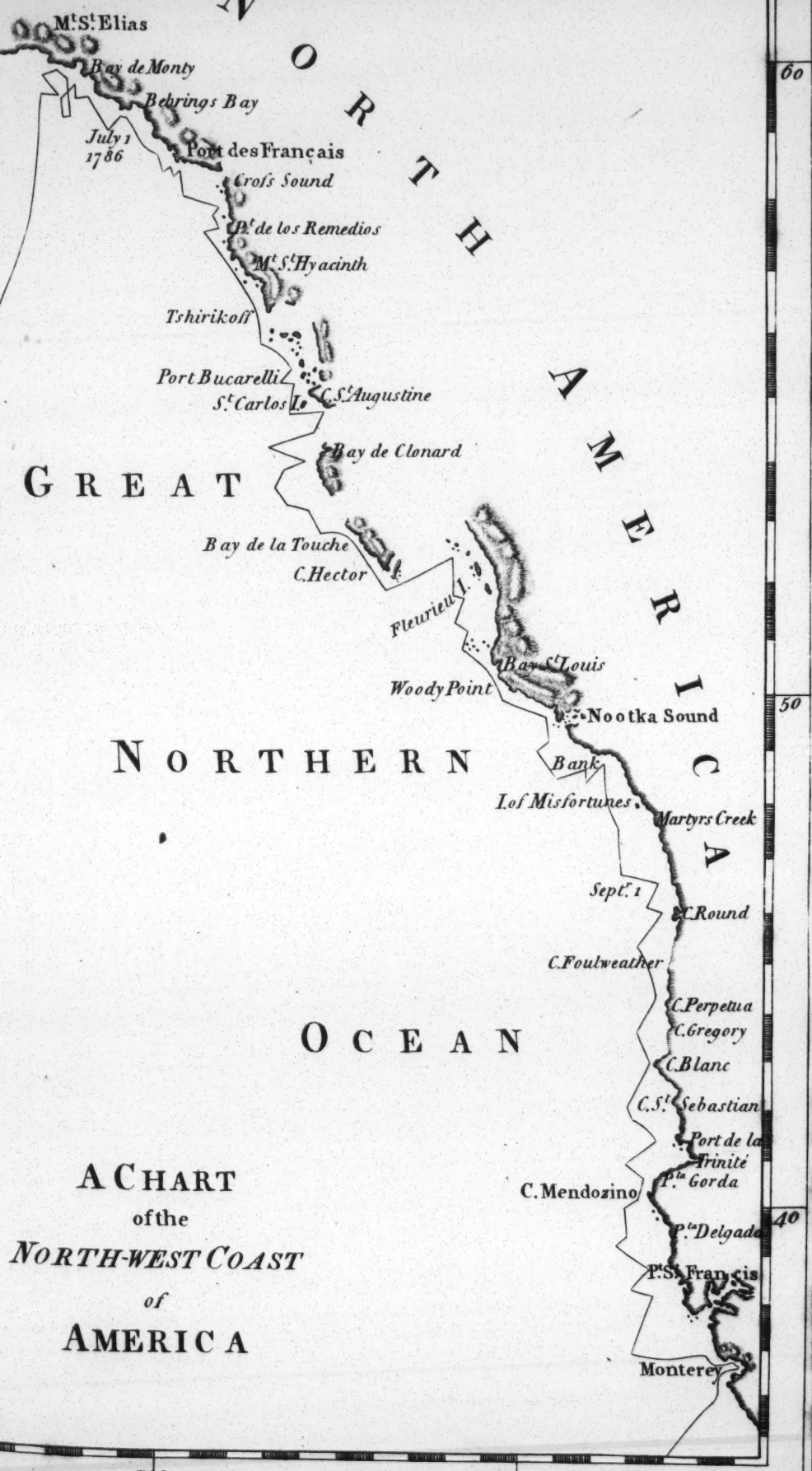
## CHAP. VII.

DEPARTURE FROM SANDWICH ISLANDS—SIGNS OF APPROACHING THE COAST OF AMERICA—DESCRIBED MOUNT ST. ELIAS—DISCOVERY OF THE BAY OF MONTI—OUR BOATS RECONNOITRE THE MOUTH OF THE GREAT RIVER BEHRING, AND A VERY DEEP BAY—THE FAVOURABLE REPORT OF SEVERAL OF OUR OFFICERS INDUCES US TO PUT INTO IT—DANGERS INCURRED IN ENTERING—DESCRIPTION OF THIS BAY WHICH I NAMED FRENCHMAN'S BAY AND PORT—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS—BARTER WITH THEM—JOURNAL OF TRANSACTIONS DURING OUR STAY.

**T**HE easterly winds continued till we arrived in 30° N. lat. directing our course to the northward with fine weather. The fresh provisions we had procured during our short stay at the Sandwich Islands, ensured salubrious and agreeable food for our crews during three weeks, though it was impossible to keep our pigs alive for want of water and victuals. I was therefore obliged to have them salted in Captain Cook's method. These pigs being very small, the largest not exceeding 20lbs weight, they would have been soon corroded, and their substance partly destroyed, if long exposed to the activity of salt, for which reason we were obliged to consume them first.

On the 6th June, in 30° N. lat. the wind shifted to S. E. The sky became watery and dull; every thing





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thing announced that we had quitted the track of the trade-winds: I found we should soon regret the loss of that serene weather which had maintained our health, and by favour of which we had every day made observations of the moon's distance from the sun, or, at least, compared the true time of the meridian with that of our time-keepers.

My fears were too speedily realised. The fogs commenced on the 9th June, in  $34^{\circ}$  N. lat, without a clear interval till the 14th, in  $41^{\circ}$ . I almost thought the seas, which divide Europe from America, less foggy, but it would be an error irrevocably to adopt this opinion; for the fogs of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay, enjoy an incontestible pre-eminence of opacity, though they can scarcely vie with their unequalled humidity. This rain of fog penetrated every sailor's baggage, which not a solar ray flattered us with the prospect of drying; and I knew, by melancholy experience in my voyage to Hudson's Bay, that this frigid humidity was the most essential cause of scurvy. Although no symptoms yet appeared, yet so long a continuance at sea must have predisposed us all to that disorder. I therefore ordered large braziers to be placed under the half-deck, and between decks where the seamen lay; I gave each a pair of boots, and distributed the stuff waistcoats and breeches I had kept in reserve since our departure from Cape Horn.

My surgeon, who shared M. de Clonard's attention to the crew, proposed to mix with the morning allowance of grog \* a slight infusion of bark, which, without perceptibly altering its taste, might produce the most salutary effects. I ordered this mixture to be secretly performed, as the crew would otherwise certainly refuse it: but as it was unperceived, no objection arose to this practice, which would doubt-

\* The French Narrator explains in a note, that this grog was a mixture of one part of *brandy* and two parts water.

less have been strenuously opposed, had it been submitted to the general opinion.

These precautions, though crowned with perfect success, engrossed not our leisure during our long passage. My carpenter, following the plan formed by M. de Langle, constructed a corn-mill, which became extremely useful.

The inspectors of provisions, convinced that baked grain keeps better than either flour or biscuit, recommended our taking out a considerable stock of corn, which we augmented in Chili. We were furnished with mill-stones 24 inches in diameter, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  thick, requiring four men to put them in motion. Being assured that M. de Suffren had no other machinery for his whole squadron, we could not doubt they were sufficient for our little equipment. But when we began to use them, our baker observed the corn was merely bruised, while four men, though relieved every half hour, only produced 25lb. of ill-ground flour per day. As our corn supplied near half our subsistence, we should have experienced the greatest embarrassment, had not the inventive genius of M. de Langle, with the assistance of a sailor, formerly a journeyman miller, contrived a species of wind-mill adapted to our purpose. At first he employed, with some degree of success, sails turned by the wind, but soon substituted a winch, and obtaining as perfect flour as that of ordinary mills, ground two hundred weight per day.

On the 14th the wind shifted to W. S. W. The following meteorological observations are the result of our long experience. The sky is generally clear when the wind is only a few degrees to the northward of west, and the sun appears on the horizon: from W. to S. W. cloudy, with some little rain: from S. W. to S. E., and even to east, hazy weather and extreme humidity, penetrating into the cabins and every part of the ships. Thus a reference to the  
state



state of the winds will always convey to the reader the state of the atmosphere, and be a useful guide to those who may succeed us in this navigation. Should readers, who amuse themselves with our adventures, take an interest in those who have experienced the difficulties and fatigues attending them, they will not, perhaps, contemplate with indifference, navigators who, beyond the limits of the habitable world, and after a continual contest with fogs, bad weather, and scurvy, have explored an unknown coast, the theatre of each romance \*, that has found too easy a reception among modern geographers †.

This

\* Such as the voyage of Admiral Fuentes, and the pretended expeditions of the Chinese and Japanese on that coast.

† However extraordinary the accounts of the voyage performed by Admiral Fuentes, or de Fonte may appear, we cannot venture wholly to reject them, when we compare his chart of discoveries with those of Cook, La Pérouse, Dixon, and Meares. It appears by the discourse pronounced by Buache before the Academy of Sciences, that Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado found a north passage by entering a strait in Hudson's Bay, which is the same as that which Admiral de Fonte fell in with when coming from the South Seas, and laid down in the French charts as *Repulse Bay*. The voyage of Maldonado appears authentic, and is dated 1588, that of Admiral de Fonte 1640, and unless it be proved, that he knew of the former expedition, and made that the basis of a romance, the coincidence between them must still leave some doubts; and, in geography, every doubt should be perpetuated, till it yields to the most incontrovertible proofs.

Neither the discourse of Buache, nor the Spanish voyage which formed its basis, are yet printed. Those who wish to know all the disputes to which the voyage of Admiral de Fonte gave birth, will find them in the following works.

Explication de la carte des nouvelles découvertes au nord de la mer du Sud. *Par de Lisle, &c. Paris, 1752.*

Considérations géographiques et physiques sur les nouvelles découvertes au nord de la grande mer, appelée vulgairement la mer du Sud. *Par Philippe Buache, &c. Paris, 1753.*

Nouvelles Cartes des découvertes de l'amiral de Fonte, &c. *Par de Lisle, &c. Paris, 1753.*

Lettre d'un officier de la marine russe à un seigneur de la cour, &c. *A Berlin.*

Observations critiques sur les nouvelles découvertes de l'amiral Fuentes, &c. *Par Robert de Vaugondy, fils, &c. Paris, 1753.*

Journal

This part of America, as far as mount St. Elias, in 60°, was merely descried at a distance by Captain Cook, except the port of Nootka, where he put in. But from that mountain to the point of Alaska and frozen Cape, this celebrated circumnavigator kept in with the coast with all the perseverance and courage he was known by all Europe to possess. Indeed the exploration of that coast of America, from Mount St. Elias to the port of Monterey, though a most interesting object to navigation and commerce, required many years to perform; and we were aware, that in the two or three months which the season, and the vast plan of our voyage, permitted us at most to devote to it, we should leave many objects to be investigated by future navigators. Many ages, perhaps, will elapse, before every bay and port of this part of America is perfectly known. But the true direction of the coast, the determination of the latitude and longitude of its most remarkable points, will attach to our labours a utility which no seaman will dispute.

Since our departure from the Sandwich Islands, and till our making Mount St. Elias, the wind was fair without a moment's interruption. As we approached the land we saw sea weed float by, of a species absolutely new to us, consisting of a pipe 40 or 50 feet long, terminating in a ball of the size of an orange, and resembling the stem of an overgrown onion. Whales of the largest species, divers, and gulls, announced the approach of land, which, at length, we descried on the 23d, at four in the morning, when the fog dispersing, permitted us suddenly to perceive a long chain of mountains covered with snow, which we might have seen in clear weather at the distance of 30 leagues further out. We then re-

Journal historique, Mémoires pour l'histoire des sciences et des beaux-arts, Journal des Savans, Journal économique, pour l'année 1753.—*French Editor.*

cognized



cognized de Behring's Mount St. Elias, whose summit appeared above the clouds.

The sight of land, which usually produces agreeable sensations after a tedious navigation, caused in us but little effect; for the eye found no pleasure or repose on masses of snow, which covered a naked and barren soil. These mountains appeared at some distance from the sea, which broke on a flat 150 or 200 toises high. This black platform, as if calcined by fire, destitute of every approach to verdure, afforded a striking contrast with the whiteness of the snow which we perceived through the clouds, and served as a basis to a long chain of mountains that seemed to extend 15 leagues from east to west. At first we thought them very near us, their summits appearing as it were above our heads, the snow spreading a light extremely deceitful to eyes unaccustomed to it. But advancing nearer, we perceived below the platform low lands covered with foliage, which we mistook for islands, where we expected to find shelter for our ships, and wood and water for the crews. I proposed, therefore, to reconnoitre these islands at a very small distance, favoured by the east winds that blow along the coast. But they presently chopped about to the southward, the atmosphere became very black in that quarter of the horizon, and I thought it better to wait for more favourable weather, and haul close to the wind which blew dead on the shore. We had found ourselves at noon in  $59^{\circ} 21'$  N. lat. by observation, and  $143^{\circ} 23'$  W. long. by our time-keepers. A thick fog covered the land throughout the day on the 25th, but on the 26th the weather was very fine, and the coast was visible, with all its windings, at two in the morning. I ranged along it at a distance of two leagues, the depth of water being 75 fathoms, with a bottom of soft mud. I was very desirous of meeting with a harbour, and was soon flattered with the belief that I had found one.

I have

I have already spoken of a platform 150 or 200 toises high, forming the basis of immense mountains some leagues in land. We soon perceived to the eastward a low point, covered with trees, which seemed to extend as far as this plain, and terminate at a distance from a second chain of mountains further to the eastward. We all unanimously agreed, that the platform terminated at the low point of land covered with trees, that it was an island separated from the mountains by an arm of the sea, and that it must lie east and west like the coast, and, consequently, we should find in that imaginary channel a commodious shelter for our ships.

I steered for this point, keeping our lead going, and found the smallest depth of water 45 fathoms, over a muddy bottom; when, at two in the afternoon, I was obliged to anchor on account of the calm. The wind had been very faint throughout the day, varying from west to north. We had observed at noon,  $59^{\circ} 41' N.$  lat., and our time-keepers gave  $143^{\circ} 3' W.$  long., at three leagues to the S. E. of the woody point, which I continued to mistake for an island. At ten in the morning I had dispatched my long boat under the command of M. Boutin, to reconnoitre this channel or bay, and Messrs. de Monti and de Vaujuas had left the Astrolabe on the same pursuit, while we lay at anchor waiting their return. The sea was unruffled, the current set to the S. S. W. at the rate of half a league an hour, which confirmed me in the opinion, that if the woody point was not the mouth of a channel, it must at least be that of a great river.

The barometer had fallen one-fourth of an inch in 24 hours, the sky was very black, and every thing announced that bad weather would soon succeed the dead calm which had obliged us to come to an anchor. At length, about nine o'clock, our three boats returned, and the officers declared there was neither a channel nor a river, but the coast formed a considerable semicircular



circular recess to the N. E. with 30 fathoms water, and a muddy bottom, but without shelter from any wind between S. S. W. and E. S. E. which are the most dangerous. The sea broke with violence on the beach, which was covered with drift wood. M. de Monti had great difficulty in landing; and as he was the commandant in this little expedition, I called it the *Bay of Monti*. They added, that the cause of our mistake was the woody point joining some land much lower than itself, and destitute of trees, which gave it the appearance of a termination. Messrs. de Monti, de Vaujuas, and Boutin, had taken the bearings of the different points of this bay, and the coincidence of their accounts left no doubt what to determine\*. I made signal to weigh, and as very bad weather was coming on, I took advantage of a breeze from the N. W. to run to the S. E. and get off the coast.

\* Doubtless it will appear extraordinary I should controvert the opinion of three officers, and maintain that La Pérouse could form a more accurate judgment of the coast from on board. It remains for the reader to weigh the proofs of my assertion; and should any doubt still remain, to consult the voyage and charts of Dixon.

I maintain that the bay of Monti was the station where Dixon anchored the 23d of May following, under which he was sheltered from every wind by the projection of an island that forms a kind of mole, which he called Port Mulgrave.

Dixon says, page 166, "The situation Mr. Turner had pitched on for us to anchor in was round a low point to the northward, about three miles up the bay."

And page 170, "These islands, in common with the rest of the coast, are entirely covered with pines of two or three different species, intermixed here and there with witch hazle, and various kinds of brush-wood."

Dixon fixes the latitude of Port Mulgrave at  $59^{\circ} 33'$ , and its long. W. from London  $140^{\circ}$ , equal to  $142^{\circ} 20'$  from Paris. La Pérouse fixes the latitude of Monti Bay at  $59^{\circ} 43'$ , and its long.  $142^{\circ} 40'$ .

If the three officers, commissioned by La Pérouse to explore the bay, did not go to the head of it, it is not surprising they should think it had a continuation of coast, or that the little islands in that part of it should conceal the channel that separates them from the continent.—*French Editor.*

The

The night was calm but foggy, the wind changing every moment. At length it settled in the east, and blew very fresh from that quarter for 24 hours.

On the 28th the weather became finer. We were in  $59^{\circ} 19'$  N. lat. by observation, and  $142^{\circ} 41'$  W. long. by our time-keepers. The coast was covered with fog, and we could not distinguish the points we had set the preceding days. The wind was still easterly, but the barometer rose, and every thing announced a favourable change. At five in the evening we were but three leagues from land, in 40 fathoms water, over a muddy bottom,; and the fog having partly dispersed, we made sketches from our bearings, which formed an uninterrupted continuation of our preceding surveys, and together with our succeeding observations most attentively performed, contributed to complete the general chart of our voyage. Navigators, and those in particular who make geography their study, will perhaps be happy to learn, that to give still further precision to the configuration and outline of the coasts and remarkable points, M. Dagelet verified and corrected the bearings taken with the azimuth compass, by the mutual distances of the hills, measuring the relative angles they form with each other by a sextant, and determining the elevation of the mountains above the level of the sea. This method, though not rigorously exact, is yet sufficient for navigators to judge by the height of a coast at what distance it is from them; and in this manner that learned academician has determined the height of Mount St. Elias to be 1980 toises, and its situation eight leagues in land\*.

On the 29th of June we were, by observation, in  $59^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat. and  $142^{\circ} 2'$  W. long. by our time-

\* Cook says, Mount St. Elias lies 12 leagues up the land, in  $12^{\circ} 27'$  lat. and  $219^{\circ}$  longitude from the meridian of Greenwich. *Third Voyage*, vol. iii.—French Editor.



keepers, having in 24 hours run eight leagues to the eastward. The south winds and the fogs continued throughout the 29th, and the weather was clear till the 30th at noon; though at times we perceived low lands, but never more than four leagues distant. According to our reckoning we were five or six leagues to the eastward of the bay, called by Captain Cook Behring's Bay, and our soundings were constantly from 60 to 70 fathoms, with a muddy bottom. Our latitude, by observation, was  $58^{\circ} 55'$ , and our longitude, by the time-keepers,  $141^{\circ} 48'$ . I stood right in for the land, under a crowd of sail, with some light airs from the W. S. W. We saw to the eastward a bay, which appeared very deep, and which I at first took for that of Behring. Having got within a league and a half of it, I distinctly perceived that the lowlands, like those of the bay of Monti, were united to a more elevated soil, and that, in fact, there was no bay, though the water was whitish, and almost fresh, which, with every other circumstance, announced the vicinity of a river, that must be very considerable to have changed the colour and the saltness of the sea for two leagues in the offing. I made the signal to anchor in 30 fathoms, over a bottom of soft mud; and dispatched the long-boat, under M. de Clonard, my second captain, accompanied by Messrs. Monneron and Bernizet. M. de Langle had also sent off his long-boat, together with his biscayan yawl, under the command of Messrs. Marchainville and Daigremont. These officers returned by noon, having kept along the shore as near as the breakers would permit. They discovered a sand bank even with the water's edge, at the mouth of a great river, discharging itself into the sea by two considerable channels, each having a bar, as at the river of Bayonne, on which the sea broke so violently, that it was impossible for our boats to approach it. M. de Clonard spent five or six hours in an unsuccessful attempt to

enter, though he discovered some smoke, which proved the country inhabited, while from our ship we perceived an unruffled sea beyond the bank, and a basin of several leagues in breadth and two in depth. It is probable that with smooth water, ships, or at least boats, may enter this gulph; but as the current is very strong, and as the sea becomes extremely rough, from one moment to another over the bars, the very appearance of this place is sufficient to deter navigators from approaching it. From the aspect of this bay I have been inclined to think it was here Behring landed; and it is more probable the loss of his boat's crew is to be attributed to the fury of the sea than the barbarity of the Indians\*. I have retained the name of Behring's River, and am of opinion the strait of that name has no existence, but that Captain Cook, who passed at a distance of 10 or 12 leagues, rather conjectured than actually perceived it †.

On

\* Here are two mistakes: first, it was Captain Tschirikow, not Behring, who lost his boats; secondly, this misfortune occurred in  $56^{\circ}$  lat. according to Muller.—*Voyages et découvertes faites par les Russes*, page 248 of the French translation.—French Editor.

† There is no doubt the place which La Pérouse describes as Behring's river, is the Behring's Bay of Captain Cook. It remains only to be known, whether the change in the colour and saltness of the water is a sufficient proof that this bight in the land is a river, and whether the freshness of the water may not be occasioned by the enormous masses of ice continually falling from the mountains, while the colour may arise from the soil of the coast or of the beach, where the sea breaks with such fury.

But whether it be river or bay, or both (for bays being formed by mountains stretching into the sea, there may probably be a river or a torrent within), the identity of the place is proved in the following manner: Cook determined the opening of this bay to be in  $59^{\circ} 18'$  of latitude, La Pérouse was to the westward of the bay, and made its latitude  $59^{\circ} 20'$ .

Cook's longitude, when on board, was  $220^{\circ} 19'$  E. from the meridian of Greenwich, which makes  $139^{\circ} 41'$  W. longitude, and adding  $2^{\circ} 20'$  for the difference between the meridian of Greenwich

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On the 1st of July, I got under sail with a light breeze from the S. W. ranging along the land at the distance of two or three leagues. While at anchor, we were, by observation, in  $59^{\circ} 7' N.$  lat. and  $141^{\circ} 17' W.$  long. by our time-keepers, the entrance of the river bearing N.  $17^{\circ} E.$  and Cape Fair Weather E.  $5^{\circ} S.$  We steered along the shore with a light breeze from the W. at two or three leagues distance, and might have perceived the inhabitants by the help of our glasses had there been any; but the breakers appeared to render a landing impossible.

On the 2d, at noon, I had Mount Fair Weather bearing N.  $6^{\circ} E.$  being, by observation, in  $58^{\circ} 36' N.$  lat. and by our time-keepers in  $140^{\circ} 31' W.$  long. distance two leagues off shore. At two, a little to the eastward of Cape Fair Weather, we got sight of a bight, which appeared a very fine bay, and stood in for it. When within a league of it, I sent off the jolly-boat, under the command of M. de Pierrevert, to reconnoitre it, together with M. Bernizet. The Astrolabe also dispatched two boats, commanded by Messrs. de Flasse and Boutervilliers, on the same pursuit. We perceived from on board a great ledge of rocks, behind which the sea

wich and that of Paris, we have  $142^{\circ} 1' W.$  for Cook's longitude from the meridian of Paris.

La Pérouse fixes his longitude at  $142^{\circ} 2'$ , which makes only a difference of one minute, Capt. Cook was two leagues farther off from the coast.

Cook saw the opening of the bay bearing N.  $47^{\circ} E.$

La Pérouse, who was two leagues nearer the coast, saw that opening bearing N.  $33^{\circ} E.$

Cook was eight leagues from the land, and found 70 fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

La Pérouse was five or six leagues from the coast, and had constantly from 60 to 70 fathoms water, over a muddy bottom.

Had I not already proved my position to demonstration, I would request the reader himself to fix Capt. Cook's place on the map, on the 6th of May, 1778, and that of La Pérouse on the 29th of June, 1786, and pursue their tracts, with due regard to the variation of the needle, as determined by those two navigators.

French Editor.

water was very smooth. This ledge appeared to be three or four hundred toises long from east to west, and to terminate at about two cables length from the point of the continent, leaving a considerable opening; so that nature seemed to have formed, at the extremity of America, a port like that of Toulon, though both her plans and her materials were here exhibited on a more magnificent scale, for this port was three or four leagues in depth. Messrs. de Flafan and Boutervilliers gave the most favourable report of it; they had gone in and out of it several times, and found constantly seven or eight fathoms water in the middle of the channel, and five fathoms within 20 toises of each extremity, while in the interior of the bay there were 10 or 12 fathoms over a good bottom. From their report I determined to steer for the channel; and sent our boats to sound a-head, with orders, when we approached the points, to place themselves one off each extremity, so that the ships might only have to pass between them.

We soon perceived some savages making signals of friendship, by displaying and waving about white cloaks and various skins, in the manner of flags. Several canoes of these Indians were fishing in the bay, where the water appeared as smooth as a mill-pond, while the ledge was covered with surf by the breakers. The sea was very calm, however, beyond the channel, and this afforded an additional proof that its depth was considerable.

At seven in the evening we attempted the passage, but the wind was faint and the ebb so strong, that we could not possibly stem it. The *Astrolabe* was carried out with great rapidity, and I was obliged to anchor, lest I should be swept away by the current, of which I did not know the direction; but finding that it set towards the offing, I weighed anchor, and rejoined the *Astrolabe*, still undecided what plan to pursue in the morning. This very rapid current, which



which our officers had not mentioned, checked my eagerness to put into this port. I was not ignorant of the great difficulties to be encountered in entering and at coming out of narrow passes, where the tides are very strong; and, as it was necessary to employ the summer in exploring the coasts of America, I feared a forced continuance in a bay, from which my departure might require the concurrence of many favourable circumstances, would be extremely injurious to the success of my expedition. However, I passed the night, standing off and on, and, at daybreak, I hailed M. de Langle, and communicated my opinion to him. But the report of his two officers was very favourable; for, having sounded both the strait and the interior of the bay, they represented, that although the current appeared so strong, they had several times stemmed it with their boats. M. de Langle therefore esteemed this port very commodious, and his reasons appeared so convincing, that I could not withhold my assent.

This port, which had been discovered by no former navigator, is situated 33 leagues to the N. W. of that of *Los Remedios*, which is the extreme boundary of the navigation of the Spaniards, about 224 leagues from Nookta, and 100 leagues from Prince William's Sound. Should the French government therefore entertain any design of establishing a factory on this part of the American coast, other nations cannot claim the smallest right of opposition\*. The smoothness of the

\* Since La Pérouse explored the north west coast of America, from Mount St. Elias to Monterey, two English navigators have taken the same route, though merely with commercial views.

Dixon sailed from England in September 1785, in the *Queen Charlotte*, accompanied by Captain Portlock, in the *King George*, and anchored at Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands, the 26th May 1786. La Pérouse passed by Owhyhee the 28th of the same month; anchored at Mowee on the next day, and, quitting it on the 30th, got sight of Mount St. Elias on the 23d June, 1786: while Dixon quitted Owhyhee June 13th, and having steered for Cook's River, did

the inner part of this bay was very seducing to us, who were in absolute necessity of changing our stowage almost entirely, in order to get up six guns from the bottom of the hold, without which, it would be very imprudent to navigate seas \* so frequently infested with pirates as those of China. To this place I gave the name of *Port des Français*, or Frenchmen's Port.

At six in the morning we stood for the bay with the lash of the flood, the Astrolabe preceded me, and a boat, as on the preceding evening, was stationed off each point. The wind was between west and W. S. W., the entrance lies north and south. Thus every thing appeared favourable. But at seven, when we were already in the channel, the wind shifted to W. N. W. and N. W. by W. so that it was necessary to shiver the sails, and even to throw all a-back. Fortunately the flood-tide carried us into the bay, setting us along the rocks on the east point, at the distance of half a pistol shot. I anchored within the bay, in three fathoms and a half, over a rocky bottom, about half a cable's length from the shore. The Astrolabe anchored upon a similar bottom, and in an equal depth of water.

did not arrive at the north west coast of America till the 8th September, which he ranged along from the entrance of Cross Sound to that of Nootka, without being able to come to an anchor. Leaving that coast on the 28th of the same month, he returned to the Sandwich Islands, and not till the 23d of May, in the following year, made Mount St. Elias, and cast anchor in port Mulgrave. The priority of La Pérouse is therefore fully established.

Dixon, before his departure from London, was apprised of the expedition from France, but never falling in with the French ships, was ignorant of their discoveries.

Captain Meares, in the Snow Nootka, sailed from Bengal in March 1786; touched at Oonolaska in August, and, by the end of September, arrived at the entrance of Prince William's Sound, where he wintered: and it was not till 1788 and 1789, that he ran down the coast of America. Of his voyage there is yet no French translation.—*French Editor.*

\* We were to arrive China in the beginning of February.

During



During thirty years experience at sea, I never saw two ships so near destruction; and to meet that fate at the extremity of the earth, would have rendered our misfortune still more tragical; but we were now out of danger. Our boats were instantly hoisted out, and carried out our small anchors; and before the tide had perceptibly fallen, we warped into six fathoms water; yet our heel touched several times, but so slightly as not to damage the ship. Our situation would not have been at all difficult, had we not anchored on a bottom of rock, extending several cables length round us, very differently from the report of Messrs. de Flasse and Boutervilliers. This, however, was no time for reflection. It was necessary to quit this dangerous anchorage, to which the rapidity of the current was a considerable obstacle, and its violence obliged me to drop a bower anchor. I feared each moment lest the cable should part, and our ship drive on shore; and our uneasiness was much increased, when the wind freshened much from the W. N. W. Thus our ship was close in with the land, and her stern very near the rocks, from which it was impossible to think of towing her. I therefore struck the top gallant masts, and waited for the foul weather to cease, which would have been less dangerous, had we even anchored in better ground.

I sent immediately to sound the bay, whence M. Boutin very soon returned with an account, that he had found an excellent bed of sand in ten fathoms water, four cables length to the westward of our anchoring place; but that further up the bay to the northward, he could not strike ground with a line of 60 fathoms, except within half a cable of the shore, where he found 30 fathoms with a muddy bottom. He informed me also, that the north west wind did not penetrate into the inner part of the harbour, where it was absolutely calm.

M. d'Esclures had been dispatched, at the same time, to explore the head of the bay, of which he gave the most favourable account. He had gone round an island, near which was anchorage in 25 fathoms water, over a muddy bottom. No place could be more convenient for erecting our observatory; wood already cut lay scattered along the shore, and cascades of the finest water rolled from the summits of the mountains into the sea. He had penetrated to the head of the bay, two leagues beyond the island which was covered with ice, and perceived the entrance of two vast channels; but, being eager to render an account of his mission, he did not stay to examine them. After this account, the possibility of penetrating by these channels into the interior of America presented itself to our imagination. The wind having fallen by four P. M. we towed up to the sand-bank which M. Boutin had discovered, and the *Astrolabe* was enabled to get under sail, and gain the anchorage of the island. I rejoined her the next day, being favoured with a light breeze from the E. S. E. and assisted by our boats.

During the stay we were compelled to make at the entrance of the bay, we had been constantly surrounded by canoes of savages, who, in exchange for our iron, offered us fish, otter skins, with those of other animals, and various small articles of their apparel. To our great astonishment, they appeared perfectly accustomed to traffic, and made their bargains with as much address as the most able dealers of Europe, but of all the articles of commerce, iron alone was desired with eagerness; some glass beads were also taken, tho' rather as a makeweight to conclude a bargain, than as the basis of our exchanges. At length we induced them to take some plates, and tin pots, but these articles succeeded only for a time, and iron was paramount to all. This metal was not unknown to them, for each had a dagger of it hanging  
from



from his neck, resembling, in shape, that of the Indian *ery*; but without any similarity in the handle, which was only a continuation of the blade, rounded off without an edge. This weapon is kept in a sheath of tanned leather, and seemed the most valuable article of their possessions. As we examined these poignards very attentively, they informed us by signs that they were only used against bears and other beasts of the forest. Some were of red copper, but to these they showed no marks of preference. This metal is very common among them, being used chiefly for collars, bracelets, and other ornaments, and to arm the points of their arrows.

It was a great question with us where they procured these two metals. Native copper might possibly be found in this part of America, and the Indians might reduce it into flat plates and ingots: but native iron has no existence perhaps in nature, or at least is so rare, that the greater number of mineralogists have never seen it. \* These people cannot be supposed acquainted with the method of reducing iron ore to the metallic state; and besides we had observed the very day of our arrival some bead-necklaces and trinkets in brass, which every one knows

\* Virgin or native iron is very rare, yet some is found in Sweden, Germany, Senegal, Siberia, and the island of the Elbe. I have found it at the village of *Erba Longa*, two leagues north of Bastia, the capital of Corsica. It pervaded, in great profusion, the mass of a rock situated on the sea side, and was constantly of an octaëdral form. The existence of native iron is further proved by the specimens in most of the cabinets of Natural History, and by the opinion of Stahl, Linnæus, Margraff, &c.

Since, therefore, iron mines exist in America, it may also contain native iron: though I do not from thence infer, that the iron seen by La Pérouse among these Indians had that origin. I am of opinion with Cook, they might obtain it either from the Russians who come from Kamtscharka, and extend their commerce thither, or by their connection with the interior tribes, who receive it from our establishments on the north east coast of America.—*French Editor.*

to be a mixture of copper and zinc\*. Every circumstance, therefore, indicated that the metals we saw came either from the Russians, from the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, from some American dealers, who travel into the interior of that vast continent, or, lastly, from the Spaniards; but I shall hereafter shew it to be more probable these metals are procured from the Russians. We have preserved several fragments of this iron, which is very soft, and as easily cut as lead †; from which, perhaps, it is not impossible but mineralogists may discover the country, and even the mine where it is produced.

Gold itself is not more eagerly desired among Europeans than iron in this part of America, which is an additional proof of its rarity. In fact, each individual possesses but a small quantity, and they pursue it with so much avidity, that they employ every means to procure it. On the very day of our arrival, we were visited by a Chief of the principal village, who, before he came on board, apparently addressed a prayer to the sun, and afterwards made a long harangue, which concluded with agreeable songs, very similar to the chanting in our cathedrals, and accompanied by all the Indians in the canoe, who repeated the same air in chorus. After the ceremony, almost the whole company came on board,

\* Red copper fused with zinc forms pinchbeck; but to obtain brass it must be fused with calimine.

This last mentioned mineral undoubtedly contains a portion of zinc, but it also contains an earth, some sand, martial ochre, and not unfrequently galena or sulphure of lead. That which contains little zinc is, however, unfit for making brass.

The semi-metal zinc when impure, may also contain pyrites both of sulphure and iron, as well as lead, pseudo-galena, and a very hard, earthy substance.

Thus, therefore, it appears, that by fusing red copper with pure zinc, a very different metal is obtained from that produced by fusing it with calimine.—*French Editor.*

† This quality indicates a virgin or native iron.—*French Editor.*

and



and danced nearly an hour, singing at the same time, which they do with great accuracy. To this Chief I made several presents, till he became very troublesome, passing four or five hours every day on board. I was obliged to renew my donations very frequently, for without them he looked discontented, and murmured threats, which however gave us no alarm.

No sooner had we taken up our situation behind the island, than almost all the savages of the bay flocked thither; and the noise of our arrival having soon spread in the neighbourhood, several canoes came loaded with otter-skins, in very considerable quantities, which the Indians exchanged for hatchets, and bar iron. They gave us their salmon at first for old hoops, but they soon became more scrupulous; and we could only procure that fish in exchange for nails, or some other small instruments of iron. There is, I think, no country where the sea-otter is so common as in this part of America; and I should not be surprized if a factory, extending its commerce only about 40 or 50 leagues along the coast, should collect annually 10,000 skins of that animal. M. Rollin, surgeon of my ship, skinned, dissected, and stuffed the only otter we were able to procure, which unfortunately was but four or five months old, and weighed only eight pounds and a half. The Astrolabe caught one, which had evidently escaped from the savages, for it was severely wounded, though it appeared full grown, and weighed 70 pounds. M. de Langle had it skinned, in order to stuff it, but being at the critical moment of our entering the bay, that operation was not performed with sufficient care, and we were unable to preserve either the head or the jaw.

The sea otter is an amphibious animal, better known by the beauty of its skin than any other description. The Indians of *Port des Français*, call them

them *skooter*; the Russians, *colry mersky*\*, distinguishing the females by the word *maska*. Some naturalists have spoken of it under the name of *faricoviana*, but the description of the *faricovienne*, of M. de Buffon, in no respect applies to this animal, which resembles neither the otter of Canada nor of Europe.

On our arrival at our second anchoring place we set up our observatory on the island, which was but a musket-shot from our ships, and there formed an establishment for the time of our stay in this port. We pitched tents for our sail-makers and blacksmiths, depositing there our water-casks, which we set up afresh. As all the Indian villages were upon the continent, we flattered ourselves with resting in security upon the island; but experience soon proved us to be mistaken. Though we had already found the Indians were great thieves, we did not suppose them capable of executing long and difficult projects with perseverance and activity. We soon learned to know them better. They passed the whole night watching a favourable moment to plunder us; but we maintained a constant watch on board, and rarely could they elude our vigilance. I even established the Spartan law, to punish those who were unwary enough to be plundered; and though we applauded not the robber, we demanded no restitution, that we might avoid quarrels, the tragical consequences of which might afford cause for regret. I was aware that our extreme lenity would render them insolent, though I endeavoured to convince them of the superiority of our arms, by firing a gun shotted in their presence, to shew them no distance could protect them; and discharged a musket-ball, before a large company of them, through several folds of a

\* According to Coxe, *bobry-morsky*, or sea-castor; the female, *maska*; and the young, when under five months, *medviedky*, &c.  
French Edition.



cuirass we had purchased of them, after their expressing by signs, that it was impenetrable to arrows and poignards, while our skilful sportsmen killed the birds that flew above their heads. I am certain they never hoped to inspire us with fear, but their conduct proved that they believed our patience inexhaustible. They presently obliged me to remove our establishment from the island, where they landed in the night, on the side nearest the offing, traversed a wood impenetrable to us even by day, and creeping on their bellies, like serpents, moving scarcely a leaf as they went, contrived to plunder some of our effects without being perceived by the sentinels. They had even the address to enter in the night the tent where Messrs. de Lauriston and Darbaud, who were on guard at the observatory, slept, and carried off a musket mounted in silver, and both their clothes, though placed under their bolster for security. A guard of twelve men did not perceive them, nor were their officers awakened. We should however have regretted this loss but little, had they not taken the original papers of all our astronomical observations since our arrival in *Port des Français*.

These obstacles did not prevent our boats from getting wood and water; and all our officers were continually employed at the head of their several working parties. Their presence, and the discipline they maintained, contributed to restrain the savages.

While we were making the speediest arrangements for our departure, Messrs. Monneron and Bernizet took a plan of the bay, in a boat well armed. I could not spare any naval officers to accompany them, because they were all employed; but I had determined that they should, before our departure, verify the bearings of all the points, and lay down the soundings. We proposed afterwards to devote 24 hours

hours to a boar-hunt, having perceived some tracks of that animal on the mountains, and immediately after set sail, the advanced state of the season not permitting a longer stay.

We had already explored the bottom of the bay, which is perhaps the most extraordinary spot on the whole earth. To form an idea of it, we must imagine a basin, the middle of which is unfathomable, surrounded by peaks of great height, covered with snow, without a blade of grass to enliven this enormous chaos of rocks, condemned by nature to perpetual sterility. I never saw a puff of wind ruffle the surface of the water, nor is it disturbed but by enormous masses of ice, which often fall from five different glaciers, with a thundering noise that re-echoes from the farthest recess of the surrounding mountains. The air is so tranquil, and the silence so undisturbed, that the human voice and the sea birds that lay among the rocks, are heard at the distance of half a league. We hoped to discover, at the bottom of the bay, channels that penetrated far into the interior of America. We supposed it might lead to some great river, of which the bed might lie between two mountains, and the source be one of the extensive lakes to the north of Canada. Such was the phantom of our imagination. We got off in our two long-boats; Messrs. de Monti, de Marchainville, de Boutervilliers, and Father Receveur attended M. de Langle, while I was accompanied by Messrs. Dagelet, Boutin, St. Cérans, Duché, and Prevost. We entered the westernmost channel, where we found it prudent not to approach the shore, on account of the falls of stones and ice. At length, after advancing only a league and a half, we arrived at a *cul-de-sac*, terminated by two immense glaciers. We were obliged constantly to remove the masses of ice with which the sea was covered, to penetrate into this inlet, where the water was so deep, that a cable length from shore we found



no bottom with a line of 120 fathoms. Messrs. de Langle, de Monti, and Dagelet, and several other officers, were desirous to ascend the glacier, when, after indescribable fatigues, and advancing to a distance of six miles, passing with great danger the deepest fissures, they only perceived a constant succession of ice and snow, without any prospect of a termination, but at the summit of Mount Fairweather.

My long-boat remaining during this expedition upon the beach, a mass of ice, which fell more than 400 toises from it, caused so great a disturbance in the water, as to upset the boat, and throw it a considerable distance on the skirts of the glacier. This accident, however, was presently repaired, and we returned on board, after finishing, in a few hours, our expedition into the interior of America.

I had caused the eastern channel to be examined by Messrs. de Monneron and Bernizet. It terminated like our's, with two glaciers; and we both took draughts of the parts we had explored.

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## CHAP. VIII.

CONTINUATION OF OUR STAY IN PORT DES FRANCAIS

—DREADFUL MISFORTUNE WHEN ON THE POINT OF DEPARTING—HISTORY OF THIS EVENT—RETURN TO OUR FIRST ANCHORAGE—DEPARTURE.

THE next day the Chief arrived on board better attended, and more decorated than usual. After several songs and dances, he offered to sell me the island where our observatory was fixed, reserving, no doubt, for himself, and the other Indians, the right of plunder. It was by no means evident, that this Chief was proprietor of any land. The government  
of

of these people is such, that the country must be the property of the whole people; yet, as many savages were witnesses to this contract, I had a right to conclude they gave it their sanction, and accepted the offer of the Chief, though I was persuaded that the contract might be invalidated by various tribunals, should the nation ever plead against us: for we had no proofs that the witnesses were their representatives, or the Chief the true proprietor. I gave, however, several ells of red cloth, some hatchets, iron in bars, and nails. I also gave presents to all his suite. The bargain being thus concluded, I sent to take possession with the usual formalities; burying a bottle which contained an inscription to that effect, and with it one of the bronze medals struck before our departure from France.

The principal object, however, of our putting into port, was obtained. Our guns were mounted, and our stowage completed; and we had taken on board as much wood and water as at our departure from Chili. No port in the world can afford more advantages for accelerating this employment, frequently so difficult in other countries. Cascades from the tops of the mountains poured their limpid waters into our casks as they lay in the boat, and wood ready cut was strewed along a beach washed by an unruffled sea. The plan of Messrs. de Monneron, and Bernizet was completed, as well as the measure of the base-line by M. Blondela, by which Messrs. de Langle, Dagelet, and most of the officers, had trigonometrically measured the height of the mountains. We have only to regret the papers containing the observations of M. Dagelet, and even this misfortune was nearly repaired by means of the different notes we found. In short, we considered ourselves as the most fortunate of navigators, to have arrived at so great a distance from Europe, without one of our crew being sick or exhibiting any symptoms of scurvy.

But

Vol.



But the greatest of misfortunes now awaited us, without the possibility of prevention by foresight: and it is with the keenest sensations of grief I delineate a disaster a thousand times more cruel than all the maladies or calamities of the most tedious voyage. I yield unwillingly to the duty I have undertaken, of relating an event which I will not deny to have given birth to feelings constantly succeeded by tears, and which can only be allayed by the soothing hand of time. Each object that presents itself, each moment that passes, but recalls the loss we suffered, in circumstances apparently the most secure from so great a misfortune.

I have already said the soundings were to be laid down on the draught of Messrs. de Monneron and Bernizet, by the sea-officers. Consequently the yawl of the *Astrolabe*, under the orders of M. de Marchainville, was appointed to be in readiness the next day. I prepared that of my ship, as well as the jolly boat, of which I gave the command to M. Boutin. M. d'Escures my first lieutenant, and knight of St. Louis, commanded the *Bouffole's* yawl, and was chief of this little expedition. As his zeal, however, appeared sometimes too unbounded, I deemed it prudent to commit his instructions to writing: and the details of prudence I required were so minute, that he asked if I took him for a child, adding he had commanded ships of the line. I explained my motives in a friendly manner, telling him, M. de Langle and myself had sounded the channel of the bay two days before, and that I found the officer who commanded the second boat that accompanied us, had passed too near the point, on which he had even touched; adding, that young officers esteem it a point of etiquette, during a siege, to ascend the parapet of the trenches, and that the same spirit induces them to brave the rocks and breakers they encounter at sea: whereas this inconsiderate courage might

occasion the most fatal effects in an expedition like ours, where similar dangers occur every moment. After this conversation I delivered him the following instructions, which I read to M. Boutin. They will explain his mission, and my precaution, better than a long dissertation.

*Written Instructions delivered to M. d'Escures by  
M. de la Pérouse.*

“ Before I declare to M. d'Escures the object of his  
“ mission, I premise that he is expressly charged not to  
“ expose the boats to any danger, or approach the chan-  
“ nel, should the sea break there. He will set off at  
“ fix in the morning, with two other boats under the  
“ command of Messrs. Marchainville and Boutin,  
“ and sound the bay from the little creek to the east-  
“ ward of the two *Mammelons* or forked hills. He will lay  
“ down the soundings on the chart I have delivered  
“ him, or sketch one himself, from which they may be  
“ transferred. Should the sea not break in the chan-  
“ nel, but only have a swell, as this work is not press-  
“ ing, he may defer the sounding it till another day,  
“ for he will remember that all operations of this  
“ nature, when performed with difficulty, are ill exe-  
“ cuted. Probably the best time to approach is at  
“ slack water, about half past eight. Should cir-  
“ cumstances at that time be favourable, he will  
“ endeavour to measure its width by a log-line,  
“ and place the three boats in parallel directions,  
“ sounding across the channel from east to west. He  
“ will afterwards sound it from north to south. But it  
“ is scarcely probable he can take these second sound-  
“ ings the same tide, because the current will have  
“ acquired too much strength.

“ While M. d'Escures is waiting for slack water,  
“ he will sound the interior of the bay, particu-  
“ larly the creek behind the *Mammelons*, where, I  
“ am of opinion, there is very good anchorage. He  
“ will



“ will endeavour also to lay down on the plan the  
“ limits of the rocky ground and sandy bottom, in  
“ order to make the good ground perfectly known. I  
“ am of opinion, that where the channels to the  
“ southward of the island appear open, towards the  
“ point of the Mammelons, there is a good sandy  
“ bottom. M. d’Escures will verify this conjecture.  
“ But I again repeat, that I request him not in the  
“ least to relax from the severest prudence.”

After such instructions delivered to a man 33 years old, who had commanded men of war, what danger could I fear? How many pledges of security did I not possess?

Our boats put off according to my directions, at six in the morning, on an expedition which was at once a party of pleasure, of information, and of utility. They were to hunt, and then breakfast beneath the foliage of the trees. I associated with M. d’Escures, M. de Pierrevert, and M. de Montarnal, the only relation I had in the navy, and to whom I was attached as tenderly as if he were my son. Never did a young officer afford me a warmer hope, and M. de Pierrevert had already acquired what I expected the former very speedily to attain.

The seven best soldiers of the detachment composed the crew of this yawl, in which the chief pilot of my ship also embarked to take the soundings. The next in command to M. Boutin in the jolly-boat was lieutenant M. Mouton. The *Astrolabe*’s boat was commanded by M. de Marchainville, but I was uninformed whether accompanied by other officers.

At ten o’clock our jolly boat returned. Surprised at this unexpected dispatch, I enquired of M. Boutin before he came on board, if any thing had happened; fearing, at first, some attack of the savages. M. Boutin’s manner increased my alarm, for I observed the deepest expression of grief in his countenance. He immediately informed me of the dread-

ful wreck he had just witnessed, He had himself escaped but by the firmness of his mind, which presented to him all the resources that remained in the midst of the greatest danger. Obligated to follow his commander into the midst of the breakers which set into the channel, while the tide was running out at the rate of three or four leagues an hour, it occurred to him to lay his boat's stern to the sea which thus pushed her forwards, so as to avoid filling while she was driven out of the harbour, stern foremost, by the tide. He soon saw the breakers a-head of his boat, and found himself in the open sea. More anxious for the safety of his comrades than his own, he skirted the breakers in hopes to save some of them. Though he repeated his attempt, he was still driven back by the tide, till at length mounting on the shoulders of M. Mouton to command a more extensive view, he found his exertions in vain. All had disappeared, all were swallowed up! and M. Boutin re-entered at slack water. The sea then became smooth, and this officer entertained some hope of the *Astrolabe's* yawl; having only seen ours go down. M. de Marchainville was at that time a full quarter of a league from any danger, in a sea as perfectly undisturbed as the best sheltered port. But that young officer, urged by too imprudent a generosity, since all assistance was impossible, and having too elevated a mind, and too fearless a courage, to make this reflection while his friends were in extreme danger, flew to their aid, precipitated himself among the same breakers, and falling a victim to his own generosity, and his disobedience to his commanding officer, was involved in the same fate.

M. de Langle soon came on board my ship equally overcome with grief as myself, telling me, with tears, that the catastrophe was even greater than I thought. For, since our departure from France, he had made an inviolable rule never to dispatch the two brothers



brothers (Messrs. la Borde Marchainville, and la Borde Boutervilliers) upon the same duty, and had, on this occasion, alone yielded to their desire of hunting and amusing themselves together; for we had both considered the expedition in that view, thinking them as little exposed to danger as in the road of Brest, or in the finest weather.

The canoes of the savages came at the same moment to announce this calamitous event. The signs of these uncultivated men expressed their having beheld the loss of our two boats, and that assistance was impossible. We loaded them with presents, and endeavoured to make them understand that all our riches should belong to whosoever could save a single man.

Nothing could have affected their humanity to a greater degree. They ran to the sea side, and spread themselves on both sides of the bay. I had already sent my long-boat, under the command of M. de Clonard, to the eastward, where, had any one the good fortune to save himself, he would probably have landed. M. de Langle went to the westward to leave nothing unexamined, while I remained on board to take care of the two ships, with the precautions necessary to defend us against the savages, towards whom, prudence required us to be ever on our guard. Almost all the officers, and several others, followed Messrs. de Langle and Clonard, who went three leagues along the beach, without perceiving the smallest fragment thrown upon it. I had, till then, indulged a ray of hope: for the mind passes with difficulty from a state of happiness to so profound an abyss of grief. But the return of our boats soon dissipated the illusion, and threw me into a state of consternation and despair, not to be described by the most nervous language.

I shall give the account of M. Boutin, the friend

of M. d'Escures, though we are not agreed as to the imprudence of that officer.

*Narrative of M. Boutin.*

“ On the 13th of July, at 50 minutes past five in  
“ the morning, I quitted the Bouffole in the jolly-  
“ boat, with orders to follow M. d'Escures, who  
“ commanded our yawl. M. de Marchainville, with  
“ the command of that of the Astrolabe, was to  
“ join us. The instructions delivered to M. d'Es-  
“ cures by M. de la Pérouse, and communicated to  
“ me, charged him to employ these three boats to  
“ sound the bay, to lay down the soundings, accord-  
“ ing to the bearings, on the draught which had  
“ been given to him ; to sound the channel, if the  
“ water was smooth, and to measure its breadth.  
“ But he was expressly ordered not to expose the  
“ boats under his command to the least danger, or  
“ to approach the channel, should the sea at all  
“ break, or even were there any swell. After hav-  
“ ing doubled the westernmost point of the island,  
“ near which we lay at anchor, I observed that the  
“ sea broke entirely across the channel, and that it  
“ was impossible to shew ourselves before it. M.  
“ d'Escures was then a-head, lying on his oars,  
“ and seemingly waiting for me ; but as soon as I had  
“ approached him within musket-shot, he stood on-  
“ ward, and, as his boat rowed better than mine, he  
“ repeated the same manœuvre several times, with-  
“ out my being able to join him. At a quarter past  
“ seven, having constantly steered for the channel,  
“ we were within two cables length of it, when the  
“ yawl of our ship put about. I followed his mo-  
“ tions, keeping in his wake, and we steered back to  
“ re-enter the bay, leaving the channel behind us.  
“ My boat was astern of our yawl, but within hail,  
“ and



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“ and I perceived that of the Astrolabe a quarter of  
“ a league within the bay. M. d’Escures then hailed  
“ me with a laugh, and said—“ I think the best  
“ thing we can do is to breakfast, for the sea breaks  
“ horribly in the channel.” I answered—“ Certain-  
“ ly; and I believe our labour will be confined to  
“ fixing the limits of the sandy bay, that is on the  
“ larboard hand on coming.” M. de Pierrevert, who  
“ was in M. d’Escures’ boat, was going to answer,  
“ but looking towards the eastern coast, he perceived  
“ that we were swept away by the ebb, which I also  
“ observing, both the boats rowed with the greatest  
“ exertion to the northward, in order to get further  
“ from the channel, which was still a hundred toises  
“ distant; but I was in no apprehension, as by get-  
“ ting the distance of only 20 toises on either side we  
“ could run the boats on the beach. After pulling  
“ above a minute, without being able to stem the tide,  
“ I endeavoured, but in vain, to gain the eastern shore;  
“ and our yawl, which was a-head, attempted, though  
“ equally in vain, to make that to the westward;  
“ we were therefore obliged to put about again to  
“ the northward, to avoid falling in the trough of the  
“ the breakers. The first seas beginning to break  
“ very near my boat; I dropped my grapnel, which  
“ however did not take hold, and luckily the rope  
“ not being fastened to a bench, it ran out thwart end  
“ for end, and disburthened us of a weight which  
“ might have proved fatal. I was instantly in the  
“ middle of the heaviest seas, which almost filled  
“ the boat. However she did not sink, and conti-  
“ nued to steer, so that I could always keep her  
“ stern to the breakers, which afforded me great  
“ hopes of escaping the danger.

“ Our yawl had got to a distance while I was  
“ letting go the grapnel, but was not among the  
“ breakers till a few minutes after. I lost sight of  
“ her when I shipped the first sea, but in one of  
“ those

“ those moments when I was at the top of them, I  
“ again saw her going down, 30 or 40 toises a-head,  
“ lying broadside to, but I could perceive neither  
“ men nor oars. My only hope had been her  
“ stemming the current, and I was but too cer-  
“ tain she must unavoidably be lost, if she should  
“ be drifted out by it; for to escape there, a boat  
“ must be able to answer her helm when full of  
“ water, in order to avoid oversetting; unfortu-  
“ nately none of these qualities belonged to our  
“ yawl.

“ I was still in the midst of the breakers, look-  
“ ing out on each side, and saw astern of my boat  
“ that the waves formed a chain towards the south,  
“ extending as far as my eye could follow it. The  
“ breakers seemed also to run a great way out to the  
“ westward, and I perceived, at length, that could  
“ I but gain 50 toises to the eastward, I should  
“ find a less dangerous sea. I tried every effort to  
“ succeed in that object, pulling away to starboard  
“ between the waves, and at 25 minutes after seven  
“ I was out of every danger, having nothing to en-  
“ counter but a heavy swell and a short sea, occa-  
“ sioned by the breeze from the W. N. W.

“ After baling the water from my boat, I confi-  
“ dered of the best means to assist my unfortunate  
“ companions, but from that time no ray of hope  
“ dawned upon my mind.

“ From the moment I had perceived our boat go  
“ down among the breakers, I had constantly kept  
“ pulling to the eastward, and could not get clear of  
“ them for some minutes. It was therefore impossi-  
“ ble for men drawn into the middle of so rapid a  
“ current to get out of its direction, which must in-  
“ evitably carry them along for the remainder of the  
“ tide, which ran out to the offing till 45 minutes  
“ past eight: nor could the best swimmer resist,  
“ even for a few moments, the force of these waves.

“ Yet

\* Half  
tions for t  
current w  
past seven



“ Yet as I could make no reasonable search, but in  
“ the direction of the current, I steered back to the  
“ southward, keeping close along the edge of the  
“ breakers on my starboard hand, and changing my  
“ course every instant to get near some sea-wolves  
“ or sea-weed, which, from time to time, deluded  
“ my hopes.

“ As there was a great swell, my view became  
“ very extensive, when on the tops of the waves ;  
“ and I could have perceived an oar or a piece of  
“ wreck at more than 200 toises distance.

“ My eyes were soon directed to the eastern point  
“ of the channel, where I perceived men making  
“ signals with their cloaks. These, as I afterwards  
“ learnt, were savages ; but at first I took them for  
“ the crew of the Astrolabe's yawl, and imagined  
“ she waited for the turn of the tide to come to our  
“ assistance ; little did I think my ill-fated friends  
“ had already fallen victims to their own generous  
“ courage.

“ At three quarters past eight \* the tide having  
“ turned, there were no longer any breakers, but  
“ only a heavy swell ; and I continued my search in  
“ that swell, following the set of the ebb, which  
“ was spent, but was equally unhappy in my se-  
“ cond attempt. At nine o'clock, perceiving the  
“ flood came from the S. W. that I had neither  
“ provisions, grapnel, nor sails ; that my crew was  
“ wet and cold ; and fearing lest I should not be  
“ able to re-enter the bay, when the tide should  
“ have acquired its full strength ; observing also that  
“ even then it set violently to the north-east, which  
“ would have hindered me from getting to the  
“ southward, where only I must have continued my

\* Half past eight was the time I had appointed in my instructions for them to approach the channel without danger, because the current would then in all events have run inwards. It was a quarter past seven when the boats were lost.

search,

“ search, if the tide had permitted, I re-entered the  
“ bay steering to the northward.

“ The channel was already nearly shut in by the  
“ E. point, and the sea still broke on the two points,  
“ but was smooth in the middle. At length I gained  
“ the entrance, keeping very close in with the lar-  
“ board point, on which the Americans stood, who  
“ made signals to me, and whom I had taken for  
“ my countrymen. Their gestures expressed that  
“ they had seen two vessels overfet, and not per-  
“ ceiving the *Astrolabe*'s yawl, I was but too well as-  
“ sured of the fate of M. de Marchainville, with  
“ whom I was too thoroughly acquainted to ima-  
“ gine he would reflect on the inutility of the dan-  
“ ger to which he exposed himself. Yet as we encour-  
“ age hope to the last, a faint possibility still flat-  
“ tered me that I should find him on board, whither  
“ he might have gone to procure assistance; and the  
“ first words I uttered on my return to the ship were,  
“ Have you heard of Marchainville?” The answer,  
“ No, assured me he was lost.

“ After all these details I must explain the mo-  
“ tives to which I attribute the conduct of M. d'Es-  
“ cures. As it was impossible he should entertain  
“ an idea of getting into the channel, his only de-  
“ sign must have been merely to approach it, while he  
“ believed himself at a distance more than sufficient  
“ to avoid danger: but of that distance neither he,  
“ nor myself, nor the 18 persons with us formed an ac-  
“ curate judgment. I cannot say how far this mistake  
“ is pardonable, nor why it was impossible to know  
“ the violence of the current; for though it may  
“ be thought I would excuse myself, I repeat that  
“ I believed our distance more than sufficient; and  
“ even the appearance of the coast, which seemed  
“ to fly to the northward with incredible swiftness,  
“ did not alarm, though it astonished me. With-  
“ out running into a detail of all the causes which

“ con-



“ contributed to inspire us with a fatal confidence, I  
“ cannot refrain from observing, that on the very  
“ day we entered this bay, our boats sounded the  
“ channel for more than two hours, in every direc-  
“ tion, without finding any current. It is true,  
“ when our ships presented themselves before it,  
“ they were driven back by the ebb; but the  
“ wind was so faint, that, at the same time, our  
“ boats stemmed the tide with the greatest facility.  
“ Lastly, on the 11th of July, the day of the full  
“ moon, both our commanders, in person, with se-  
“ veral officers, sounded this channel, went out with  
“ the ebb, and returned with the flood, without  
“ remarking any thing which could afford the least  
“ suspicion of any danger, especially with boats well  
“ manned. We may therefore conclude, that on  
“ the 13th of July the violence of the current was  
“ occasioned by some adventitious cause; such as  
“ an extraordinary melting of the snows, or tem-  
“ pestuous winds, which, though they did not pe-  
“ netrate into the bay, doubtless had blown strong in  
“ the offing.

“ M. de Marchainville was a quarter of a league  
“ within the channel, when I was drawn into it, and  
“ from that moment I saw him no more; but all who  
“ know him will readily imagine what his noble and  
“ generous character would lead him to attempt. It  
“ is probable when he perceived our boats among  
“ the breakers, unable to conceive how we could  
“ possibly be drawn in by it, perhaps he supposed  
“ a grapnel rope had snapped, or an oar been lost. At  
“ that instant he might have rowed to us, up to the  
“ edge of the first breakers, and seeing us struggling  
“ with the waves, he would listen to his courage alone,  
“ and endeavour to pass through the breakers to assist  
“ us, even at the risk of perishing with us. Such  
“ a death was indeed glorious for him; but how  
“ cruel must be its remembrance to him, who, tho’  
“ escaped

“ escaped from the danger, can never again behold  
“ his companions who shared it, or the heroes who  
“ came to his assistance.

“ Far be it from me to omit any essential fact,  
“ or mistake those I relate. M. Mouton, the lieu-  
“ tenant, who was second in command of my boat,  
“ is able to correct my errors, if my memory has  
“ deceived me. His firmness, added to that of the  
“ coxswain and the four rowers, contributed not a  
“ little to our safety. Even in the midst of the  
“ breakers my orders were executed with all the ac-  
“ curacy of the most unembarrassed situations.

(Signed) “ BOUTIN.”

It now only remained for us to quit with expedition a country which had proved so fatal to us. Some delay, however, was due to the families of our unfortunate friends. Too precipitate a departure would have left doubts and inquietudes in Europe, where it could not have been imagined the current extends at most only a league out of the channel; that neither the boats nor their crews could have been drawn in from a greater distance, and the fury of the sea in that place left us no hope of their return. If against all probability any one had been able to return, as he must be in some part of the environs of the bay, I determined to wait several days longer. However I quitted the anchoring place of the island, and removed to a birth on the sandy-flat, at the entrance on the western shore. I devoted five days to this passage, which is only a league, during which we experienced a gale of wind from the eastward, which would have greatly endangered us, had we not been at anchor on a good bottom of mud; happily our anchors did come home, as we were without a cable's length of the shore. The contrary winds had detained us much longer than I had intended to remain, and we did not sail till the 30th of July. Eighteen days after



after this event, which it has given me so much pain to describe, and of which the remembrance will render me for ever unhappy. Before our departure we erected a monument to the memory of our brave companions on the island, in the middle of the bay, to which I gave the name of *l'Isle du Cénotaphe*, or Monument Island. M. de Lamanon wrote the following inscription, which he buried in a bottle, at the foot of the monument :

“ At the entrance of this port 21 brave Mariners perished.

“ Reader, mingle your tears with our's !

“ On the 4th of July, 1786, the *Bouffole* and *Astrolabe* frigates arrived in this port, having left Brest the 1st of August, 1785. Through the care of M. de la Pérouse, Commodore of the expedition, M. le Vicomte de Langle, Captain of the other frigate, Messrs. Clonard and de Monti, second Captains of the two ships and of the surgeons and other officers, none of the maladies, the ordinary consequence of long voyages, had then affected the crews. M. de la Pérouse and all of us rejoiced that we had come from one end of the world to the other, through all kinds of dangers, and having visited nations of reputed savages, without losing one man, or spilling one drop of blood. The 13th of July three boats departed at five in the morning, to lay down the soundings of this bay on the draught. They were under the command of M. d'Escures, a lieutenant, and a knight of St. Louis, to whom M. de la Pérouse had delivered written instructions, expressly charging him not to approach the current, by which however he was drawn in, when he thought himself at a sufficient distance. Messrs. de la Borde, brothers, and M. de Flasse, who were in the boat of the other ship, courageously exposed themselves to the same danger, in attempting to assist their companions, but, alas! they shared the same fate. The third boat was under the orders of Lieut. M. Boutin, who, boldly struggling with the breakers, made useless efforts, for several hours, to assist his friends, and was indebted for his own safety only to the superior construction of his boat, his own prudence, and that of his second in command, Lient. M. Laprise Mouton, and the activity and prompt obedience of his crew, consisting of John Marie, coxswain, Lhostis, le Bas, Corentin Jers, and Monens, seamen. The Indians appeared to share in our grief, which is extreme. On this 30th of July, moved and softened, though not discouraged by misfortune, we proceed on our voyage.

Names

Names of the Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, lost on the 13th of July, at a quarter past seven in the morning.

OF THE BOUSSOLE.

*Officers.*—Messrs. d'Escures, de Pierrevert, de Montarnal.

*Crew.*—Le Maitre, chief pilot; Lieutot, corporal and coxswain; Prieur, Fraichot, Berrin, Bolet, Fleury, Chaub, soldiers; the eldest not 33 years of age.

OF THE ASTROLABE.

*Officers.*—Messrs. de la Borde Marchainville, de la Borde Bouterwilliers, brothers; and Flaffan.

*Crew.*—Soulas, corporal and coxswain; Philiby, Julien le Penn, and Pierre Rabier, soldiers. Thomas Andrieux, Goulven, Tarreau, Guillaume Duquesne, all three top-men, in the prime of life.

Our stay at the entrance of the bay afforded us a fund of information on the manners and customs of the savages, impossible to be obtained at our former anchorage. For our ships being at anchor near their villages, we visited them every day, and as often received cause of complaint, though our conduct towards them never varied, and we constantly afforded them proofs of our gentleness and benevolence.

The 22d of July they brought us some pieces of the wreck of our boats, thrown by the sea on the eastern shore, very near the bay, and made us comprehend, by signs, that they had buried one of our unfortunate companions on the shore, where he had been thrown by the waves. Upon this information, Messrs. de Clonard, de Monneron, and de Monti, set out immediately, directing their course to the eastward, accompanied by the savages, who had brought these pieces of wreck, and whom we loaded with presents.

Our officers went three leagues over rocks and stones on a dreadful road. The guides every half hour exacted a fresh compensation, or refused to proceed, and, at length, ran into the woods, and took to flight. Our officers too late perceived their account to be a mere trick invented to obtain more presents.

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During their route they saw immense forests of firs of the largest dimensions. They measured some that were five feet French in diameter, and apparently more than 140 in height.

The account they gave of this artifice of the savages created no surprise, for the address of these people in stealing and cheating is without a parallel. Messrs. de Langle and Lamanon, with several officers and naturalists, had, two days before, made an excursion to the westward, of which also these sad enquiries were the object, though pursued with as little success. They met with a village of the Indians, situated on a small river, entirely blocked up with stakes for catching salmon. We had for some time suspected these fish came from that part of the coast, but were not certain till this discovery fully satisfied our curiosity, and M. Duché de Vancy took a drawing illustrative of the manner of performing this fishery \*. The salmon endeavouring to ascend the river, are obstructed by the stakes, which being unable to pass, they return towards the sea, and, in their passage, meet with very narrow baskets closed at the end, and placed in the angles of this causeway, when having once entered, they are unable to escape. This fishery is so abundant, that both our ships crews had a great quantity of fish during our stay, and each ship salted down two hogheads of them.

Our travellers also met with a *morai*†, which proves these Indians burn the dead bodies, preserving only their heads, one of which was found wrapped up in several skins. This kind of monument consists of four strong stakes, supporting a small wooden chamber, where the ashes are deposited inclosed in chests. They opened these chests, unfolded the skins which enveloped the heads, and having thus gratified their curiosity, scrupulously replaced every

\* This drawing has been lost.

† I have preserved the term *Morai*, because it expresses, better than that of *tomb*, an exposition to the open air.

thing in its former state, adding several presents of glass, beads, and instruments of iron. The savages who had witnessed this visit, shewed some marks of inquietude, but did not fail speedily to carry off the presents our travellers had left; and other enquirers going to the same place the next day, found nothing but the ashes and head. They also left presents, which had the same fate with those of the preceding travellers, and no doubt the Indians wished for many such visitants every day. But though they permitted us, with some reluctance, to visit their cemeteries, they would not suffer us to explore their huts, which we were not allowed even to approach, till their wives, the most disgusting creatures in the universe, had been previously removed.

Every day we observed a fresh succession of canoes entering the bay, and every day we beheld entire villages remove, and yield their place to others. The Indians apparently dread the channel, and never trusted themselves but at slack water; and we could distinctly perceive with our glasses, that when they arrived between the two points, their Chief, or at least the most considerable personage among them, rose up and stretched his arms towards the sun, as if addressing a prayer to him, while the rest paddled with all their strength. On making some enquiries concerning this custom, we learnt that of eight large canoes, seven had been wrecked in the channel some time ago, and one only was saved, which the Indians, who had escaped, consecrated to their God, in memory of their companions. This canoe which we had the fortune to see, stands by a *morai*, where the ashes of some Indians who had been wrecked are doubtless deposited.

It bears no resemblance to the canoes of the country, which are formed only of an hollowed tree, raised on each side by a plank sewed to the bottom; but this had ribs, timber, and rails, like our boats.

This



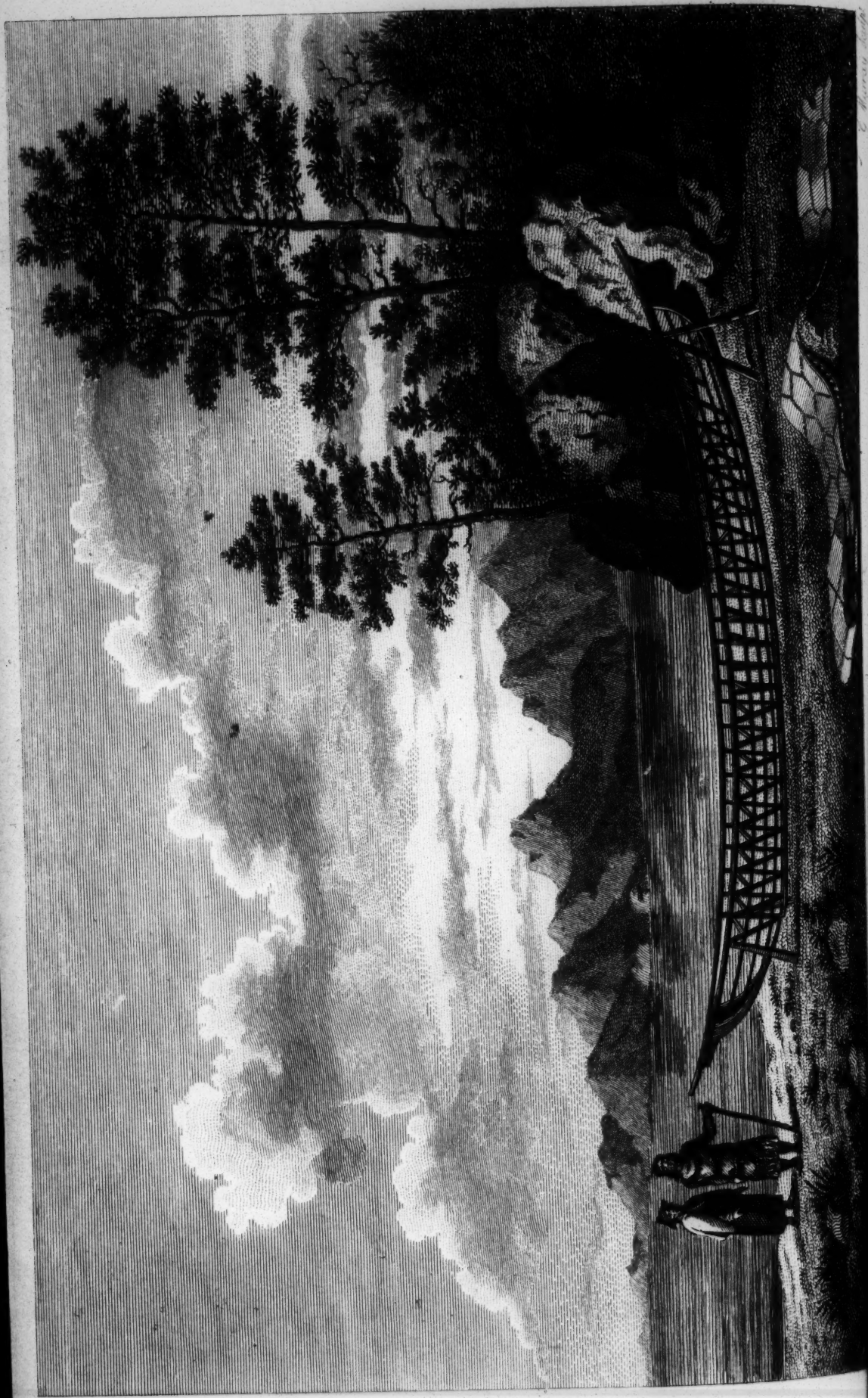
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This framing, which was very well constructed, was covered with skins of the sea wolf, instead of planks, so neatly sewed that the best workmen of Europe would find great difficulty in imitating that operation. This covering, which we examined with great attention, was deposited in the Morai, by the side of the coffers containing the ashes, while the bare frame of the boat was placed on stocks erected near that monument.

I had no small desire to convey this skin case to Europe, and it was absolutely within our power; for this part of the bay being uninhabited, there was no Indian to prevent us, and I am persuaded the unfortunate sufferers on the wreck were strangers, of whom I shall explain my conjectures in the following chapter. But the monuments of the dead claim a religious respect among all nations of the world, and I shrunk from the violation of an asylum revered even by savages.

At length on the 30th of July, at four in the evening, we set sail with a very light breeze from the West, which did not go down till we had got about three leagues to the offing, and the horizon was so clear, that we perceived Mount St. Elias bearing N. W. (variation allowed for) distant at least forty leagues. At eight in the evening the entrance of the bay bore north. We were three leagues off shore, having then 90 fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

## CHAP. IX.

DESCRIPTION OF PORT DES FRANÇAIS, ITS LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE—ADVANTAGES AND INCONVENIENCES OF THAT HARBOUR—VEGETABLE AND MINERAL PRODUCTIONS—BIRDS, FISH, SHELLS, QUADRUPEDS—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS—THEIR ARTS, ARMS, DRESS, AND DISPOSITION TO THEFT—GREAT PRESUMPTION THAT ONLY THE RUSSIANS HAVE A COMMUNICATION INDIRECTLY WITH THESE PEOPLE—THEIR MUSIC, DANCES, AND PASSION FOR GAMING—DISSERTATION ON THEIR LANGUAGE.

THE bay, or rather the harbour, which I have called Port des Français, is situated, according to our observations and those of M. Dagelet in  $58^{\circ} 37'$  N. lat. and  $139^{\circ} 50'$  W. longitude. The variation of the compass is  $28^{\circ}$  towards the East, and the dip of the needle  $74^{\circ}$ , but the plan will explain the extent and direction of the port better than any verbal description. On the days of the new and full moon, the tide rises seven feet and a half, and it is high water at one o'clock. The winds from the offing, perhaps from some unknown cause, act with so much violence on the current of the channel, that I have seen the flood tide enter with the rapidity of a torrent, though at similar periods of the moon, even a boat might sometimes have stemmed it.

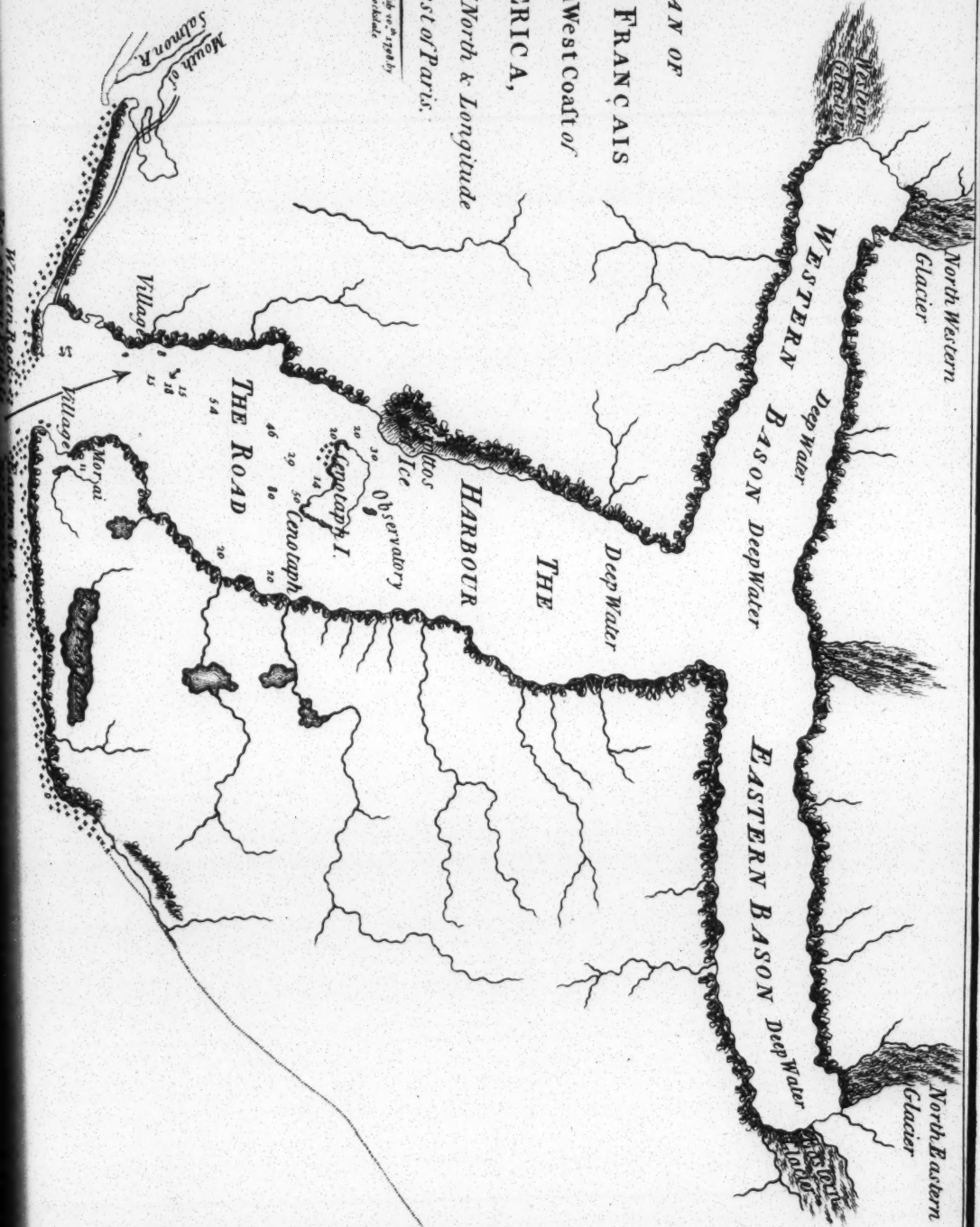
I measured, in my excursions, the bank raised by several tides 15 feet above the level of the sea; and, it is probable, that the tides by which it had been occasioned were those of the winter. When the winds blow violently from the south, the channel pass must be impracticable, and at all times the currents render the entrance difficult. The getting out requires also a concurrence



PLAN OF  
PORT DES FRANÇAIS  
on the North West Coast of  
AMERICA,

In Latitude  $58^{\circ} 37'$  North & Longitude  
 $139^{\circ} 50'$  West of Paris.

Published July 20<sup>th</sup> 1794 by  
J. Stobbe.



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currence of circumstances, which must retard a vessel many weeks, as she can only get under weigh at high-water; the breeze from the west, or the N. W., seldom rises till about ten o'clock, when it is too late to take advantage of the morning tide: and, lastly, the easterly winds, which are contrary, appear to be more frequent than those from the west, and the height of the surrounding mountains never permits the land or north winds to penetrate into the road. This port possessing many advantages, I have also thought it necessary to explain all its inconveniences. In my opinion it would not be commodious for merchantmen trading for furs on speculation. They would be under the necessity of coming to an anchor in many bays, making but a short stay in each, because these Indians sell all their stock in the first week, and any delay must be very prejudicial to mere traders. But a nation designing to form a factory similar to that of the English at Hudson's Bay, cannot make choice of a better situation for such an establishment. A single battery of four cannon, placed on the point of the continent, would be sufficient to defend so narrow an entrance, rendered difficult by the currents; and such a battery could neither be turned nor carried by land, because the sea always breaks with great violence on the coast, where it would, therefore, be impossible to make a descent. The fort, the magazines, and all the commercial establishment, might be erected on l'Isle du Cenotaphe, which is about a league in circumference, very capable of cultivation, and supplied with wood and water. The ships not having to search for cargoes, being certain of finding them already collected at one point, would not be exposed to any delay; some buoys, laid down for the interior navigation of the bay, would render it extremely safe and easy, and pilots would be formed, who, knowing the setting and drift

drift of the currents at certain periods of the tide, would ensure the safety of ships coming in, and going out: and, lastly, we found there so considerable a supply of otter skins, that I may venture to presume a greater quantity could not have been collected in any other part of America.

The climate of this coast seems infinitely milder than that of Hudson's Bay, in the same latitude. We found pines measuring six feet in diameter, and 140 in height, while those of the same species at Prince of Wales's, and Duke of York's forts, are scarcely of a sufficient dimension for studding-sail booms.

Vegetation is extremely vigorous during three or four months of the year, and I should not be surprised to find Russian wheat, and an infinity of other common plants, succeed well there. We found celery, round leaved sorrel, lupines, wild peas, mil-foil or yarrow, chicory, and mimulus, in such abundance, that every day, and every meal, the ships' coppers were filled with them. We had them in soups, in ragouts, and in salads, and they contributed not a little to preserve our health. Among these esculents we found nearly all the field and mountain plants of France, as the angelica, bouton d'or, violet, and several species of grass for fodder. All these herbs, doubtless, we might have cooked and eaten without danger, had they not been mingled with some plants of the hemlock kind, very acrid, on which we made no experiments.

The woods are replete with strawberries, raspberries, and gooseberries. We found also the elder, the dwarf willow, different kinds of broom, which grow in the shade, the balsam-poplar, *liard*-poplar, marsaut-willow, yoke-elm; and, lastly, those superb pines adapted for the masts of the largest vessels. None of the vegetable productions are strangers to Europe, for M. de la Martinière, in all his various excursions,



excursions, found only three plants which he believed to be new; and it is well known the same may happen in the environs of Paris.

The rivers were full of trout and salmon, but, in the bay, we only caught *fletans*, \* some of which weighed 100lbs, small *vieilles*, † a single ray or thorn-back, some *caplans*, ‡ and some plaice. Preferring the trout and salmon to all these fish, and the Indians selling them in greater quantities than we consumed, we fished very little, and that only with the line, for our constant occupation never permitted us to hawl the seine, which required the united force of 25 or 30 men to drag it ashore. Muscles grow in profuse heaps on that part of the shore which is left dry at low water, and the rocks are also covered with very curious little *lepas*. In the hollows of the rocks are found cornets, and other shells of the perriwinkle kind. I have seen on the sands *comes* of a considerable size, and M. de Lamanon brought from a place elevated above 200 toises from the level of the sea, some well preserved and very large petrifications of the shell, called, by naturalists, *manteau royal*, and by the vulgar *coquille de Saint Jacques*. This circumstance is not uncommon to naturalists who could have found these shells at much greater heights, but it will long continue difficult to explain, so as to obviate all objections. We never found a single shell of this species cast on the sands of the shore, which is well known to be the chief cabinet of nature.

\* Or *faitan*, a flat fish, longer and narrower than the turbot, and its upper skin covered with small scales. Those caught in Europe are of a much smaller size.—*French Editor*.

† A fish in taste and appearance like a cod, but commonly larger, though, from its avidity, caught with equal ease.—*French Editor*.

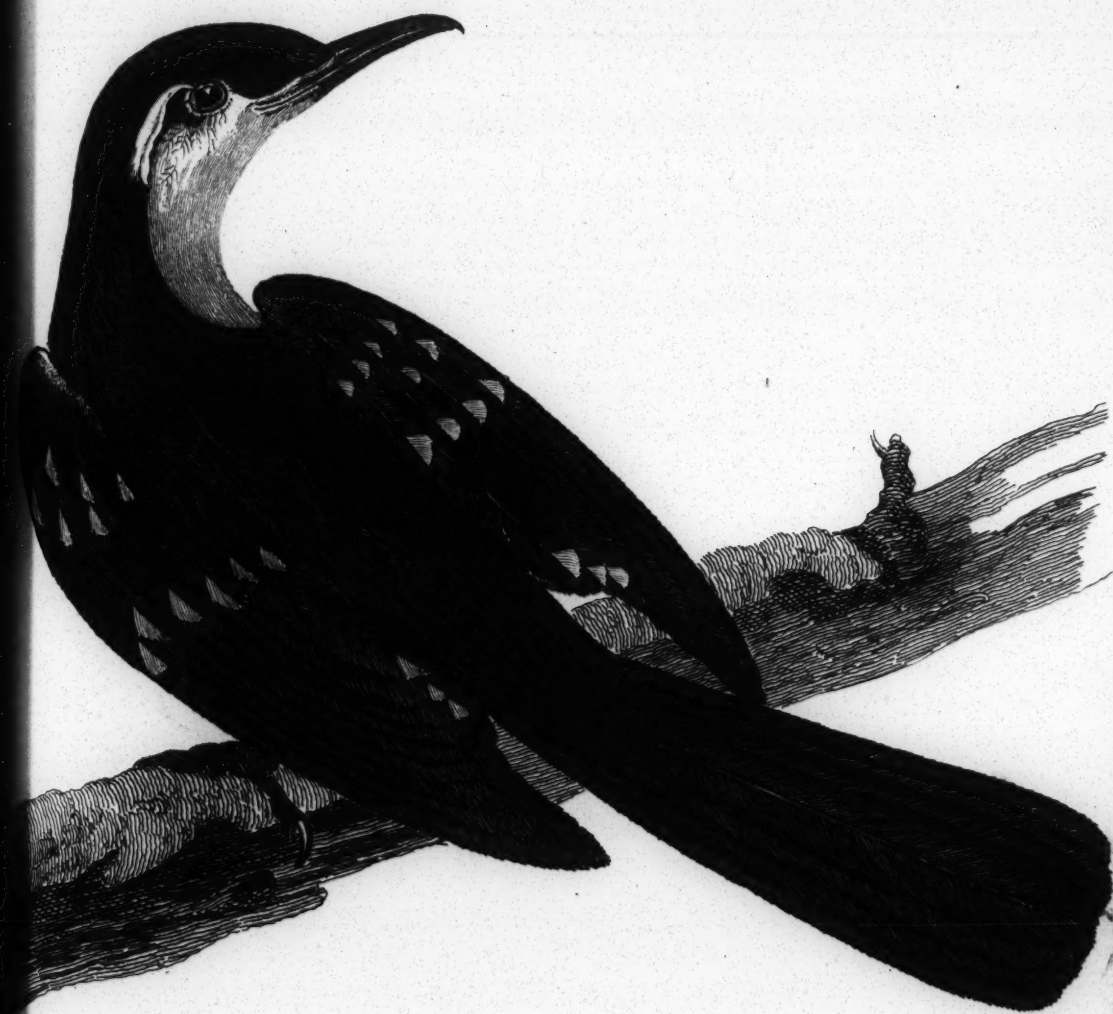
‡ This fish resembles a whiting, though much larger, and its flesh soft, well tasted, and easy of digestion. It abounds on the coast of Provence, where it is called *capelan*.—*French Editor*.

Our hunters saw in the woods, bears, martens, and squirrels, and the Indians sold us some bear skins, both black and brown, together with those of the Canadian lynx, the ermine, the marten, the *petit gris*, the squirrel, the beaver, the monax or mountain-rat of Canada, and the red-fox. M. de Lamanon took also a *musaraigne*, or shrew-mouse, alive; and we saw some tanned skins of the *orignal* or elk, and a horn of the wild-goat; but the most valuable, though here most common skins, are those of the sea-otter, sea-wolf, and sea-bear. Of birds there are not many different species, but the individuals of each are very numerous, and the copses were full of linnets, nightingales, black-birds, and water-quails, whose songs were very agreeable, this being their pairing time. The white headed eagle, and crows of the largest species, were seen hovering in the air; we surprised and killed a king-fisher, and found a very fine blue-jay, and some humming birds. The swallow or martin, and the black-huitrier, build in the hollows of the rocks on the sea shore; but the only sea birds we observed, were the goéland, the red-footed plover, cormorants, mallards, and divers, both of the large and small species.

Yet though the vegetable and mineral productions of this country so nearly resemble those of other regions of the globe, its scenery has no parallel, and I doubt whether the lofty mountains, and deep vallies, of the Alps and Pyrenees, afford so tremendous, yet so picturesque, a spectacle, well deserving the attention of the curious, were it not placed at the extremity of the earth.

The primary mountains of granite, or of schist, covered with eternal snows, where no trees, no plants, are seen, rest their bases in the water, and form a kind of quay along the shore. Their sides are so steep, that wild goats cannot climb beyond the first 2 or 300 toises; and all the streams by which they





BLACKBIRD of PORT des FRANCAIS.

*Pub. June 20. 1798, by LStockdale.*

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they are divided, are converted into immense glaciers, whose summits rise beyond the reach of sight, while their bases are washed by the sea, and, at the distance of a cable's length from shore, the water cannot be sounded with a line of 60 fathom.

The sides of the harbour are formed of mountains of the second order, only 8 or 900 toises high, decorated with pines and verdure, and only covered with snow on their summits. They seemed entirely composed of schist in the commencement of its decomposition, and are not quite inaccessible, though very difficult to ascend. Messrs. de Lamanon, de la Martinière, Collignon, abbé Mongès, and father Receveur, all of them zealous and indefatigable naturalists, although they could not attain the very summit, yet mounted with inexpressible fatigue to a considerable height, where not a stone or flint escaped their notice. Too well skilled in the history and economy of nature to be ignorant, that in the vallies may be found some specimens of whatever constitutes the mass of the mountains; they did not fail to collect ochre, pyrites of copper, very friable, though very large, and perfectly chrystalized granite, shoerl in chrystals, granite, schists, pierre de corne, very pure quartz, mica, plum-bago, and pit-coal, from all which, it is evident these mountains contain iron and copper, though we could perceive no traces of any other metal.

To a region so tremendous nature has adapted the inhabitants, differing as much from civilized nations, as the country I have just described differs from the cultivated plains of Europe. Equally rough and barbarous, as their soil is stony and unimproved, they inhabit this land only to spread devastation, and waging continual war with every kind of animal, despise the vegetable productions that spring up around them. I have, indeed, seen women and children eat strawberries and raspberries, but, doubtless, such food is insipid to men who, on the surface of

the earth, act the part of vultures in the regions of the air, or wolves and tigers in the forest. \*

The arts of life are there considerably advanced, and they have already made great progress to civilization. But that civilization which polishes manners, and softens ferocity, is yet in its infancy; for their manner of life excluding all subordination, exposes them to be continually agitated by fear or vengeance, and being choleric, and prone to violence, we saw them incessantly raising their poignards against each other. Though subject to famine in the winter, as the chase may not produce a sufficient supply, they enjoy in summer the most profuse abundance; for, in less than an hour, they catch fish enough for the subsistence of their families during the day. Thus the remainder of their time being condemned to idleness, it is passed in play, which they pursue with as much ardour and passion as the dissipated inhabitants of a great metropolis; and, like them, make it the grand inexhaustible source of their quarrels. If to all these vices were added the baneful knowledge of some intoxicating liquor, I should not hesitate to pronounce these people hastening, by rapid strides, to total extirpation.

In vain may philosophers exclaim against this picture. While they are making books by the fire-side, I have been traversing the globe for thirty years, and have actually witnessed the cunning and injustice of

\* An old proverb warns credulity against the accounts of travellers, and may, perhaps, prejudice the opinions, and diminish the confidence of some readers, who may not consider the great attention a navigator is interested to pay to his reputation, the least deviation from the truth being sufficient to provoke a formal contradiction from the numerous body of witnesses by whom he was accompanied. If, however, such a prejudice, which reflection would exclude, cannot be prevented, let me recommend, as its certain remedy, a comparison of our author's account with the details given by Dixon of the north west coast of America, not forgetting that his voyage was performed a year after that of La Pérouse, whose journal must therefore have been unknown to him.—*French Editor.*  
nations



nations whom they pourtray as necessarily simple and virtuous, because little removed from a state of nature. But nature is sublime only in the mass, while she is ever negligent of minutiae. It is impossible to penetrate through woods not thinned by the labours of civilized man; to traverse plains filled with rocks and stones, or inundated by impassable marshes; or, in short, to associate with man in a state of nature, because in that state man is cruel, base, and deceitful. Confirmed in this opinion by sad experience, I have never had recourse to that superior force with which I was intrusted in order to repel the injustice of these savages, and teach them there is a law of nations which should never be violated with impunity.

Our ships were incessantly surrounded by canoes of Indians, who would suffer three or four hours to pass away before they commenced an exchange of a few fish, or two or three otter skins; seized every opportunity of plunder; stole every piece of iron that could easily be carried away; and, in the night particularly, tried every means of eluding our vigilance. I invited all the principal personages on board and loaded them with presents, yet these very men, who had been eminently distinguished, were never ashamed to steal a nail or an old rag of cloaths. Whenever they assumed an air of mirth and docility I was assured some theft had been committed, and very often merely pretended not to observe it.

I expressly recommended the children to be caressed and loaded with small presents, but their parents were insensible to this mark of benevolence, which I thought common to all nations. The only reflection it excited among them was, that by asking to accompany their children when I invited them on board, they would find new opportunities for plunder; and for my instruction I often had the pleasure of observing the father take advantage of moments when we appeared most occupied with his

his child, to pilfer and conceal under his covering of skin every thing within his reach.

I pretended to desire some trifling articles of little value belonging to the Indians to whom I had just made large presents, that I might awaken their generosity; but without effect.

I will readily admit that society cannot possibly exist without some virtues, but I must confess I had not the sagacity to discover any here. Always quarrelling between themselves, indifferent to their children, and tyrants to their wives, whom they condemn to the most incessant and intolerable labour, I have observed nothing among these people to induce me to soften the dark colouring of the picture.

We never landed without being armed and in a body, for they greatly dreaded our muskets; and eight or ten Europeans together might command a whole village. The two surgeon-majors of our ships imprudently venturing alone to the chace were attacked by the Indians, who endeavoured to seize their muskets, but fortunately without success, and only two men were sufficient to drive them away. A similar accident occurred to M. de Lesseps, our young Russian interpreter, when a boat's crew fortunately came to his assistance. Yet these hostilities appeared to them of so little moment that they did not discontinue their visits on board, and seemed never to suspect it possible for us to make reprisals.

I give the name of village to three or four penthouses, 25 feet long and 15 or 20 broad, covered only to windward with planks or bark of trees, in the middle of which is a fire with salmon and *flettans* suspended over it to dry in the smoke. Eighteen or twenty persons lodge in each of these penthouses; the women and children on one side, and the men on the other. Each cabin appeared to me to constitute a tribe independent of its neighbours; which possessed each a boat and a sort of Chief, went out





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out, left the bay, and carried away their fish and wood, while the rest of the village appeared to take no share in their proceedings.

I am almost certain this port is inhabited only during summer, and that the Indians never pass the winter there. For I did not perceive a single cabin sheltered from the rain, and although there were not at any time more than 300 Indians together in the bay, we were visited by 7 or 800 others.

The canoes were continually coming in and going out, carrying with them their houses and furniture, which consists of several little chests containing their most valuable effects. These chests are placed at the entrance of their cabins, which are more unclean and stinking than the dens of the most loathsome animal with which we are yet acquainted. They never withdraw two steps for any common occasion of necessity, nor in the relief of nature do they seek any concealment or observe any mystery, but continue the conversation in which they are engaged, as if there was not a moment to be lost; and should this occur during a repast, resume their places without concern, from which, however, they do not stir two yards \*. The wooden vessels in which they cook their fish are never washed, but serve

\* "The inside of their dwellings exhibits a compleat picture of dirt and filth, indolence and laziness; in one corner are thrown the bones, and remaining fragments of victuals left at their meals; in another are heaps of fish, pieces of stinking flesh, grease, oil, &c."—*Dixon's voyage*, p. 173.

Cook has depicted the nastiness of the houses occupied by the inhabitants of Nootka Sound in the following passage:

"The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion. For as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there, which with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addition of other sorts of filth, lie every where in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away till it becomes troublesome, from their size, to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties, every thing in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil and smoke."

equally

equally for kettle, dish, and plate; and as they cannot be placed on the fire, they boil their water by throwing in red hot flints, continually renewing them till their food is completely dressed. They are also acquainted with a method of roasting their victuals similar to that used by soldiers in camps.

We saw perhaps only a small part of these people, who probably occupy a very considerable space on the sea coast, wandering all the summer about the different bays like sea wolves in search of food, and during winter penetrating into the heart of the country to hunt the castors and other animals, of which they brought us the exuviae. Notwithstanding they always go barefooted, the soles of their feet are not callous, but continue so tender they cannot walk on the stones; a proof they travel only in canoes or with snow-shoes.

The dog being the only animal with whom they have made any alliance, there are commonly two or three of them in a cabin. They are small, and resemble the shepherd's dog of M. Buffon: they drink little or nothing, make a whistling noise like the *adive* of Bengal\*, and are so ferocious as to bear the same analogy to other dogs as their masters to civilized nations.

The men pierce the cartilage of their nose and ears to which they attach various little ornaments. They scarify their breasts and arms with a very sharp iron instrument, whetting it upon their teeth as on a hone. Their teeth are filed down even with the gum with a piece of rough stone rounded off in the shape of a tongue. They paint their faces and other parts of their bodies in a frightful manner, with ochre, lamp black, and black lead, mixed

\* A wild beast between the wolf and the dog, very common in Asia, carnivorous, and dangerous to men. It barks in the night like a dog, but not equally loud. Its skin is yellowish, and is esteemed a valuable fur.—*French Editor.*



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up with the oil of the sea wolf. During great ceremonies their hair is long and powdered, and dressed with the down of various sea birds. This seems to be their greatest luxury, and is reserved perhaps only for the heads of families. A plain skin covers their shoulders while the rest of the body is absolutely naked: but they usually cover their head with small hats of straw very neatly made. Sometimes however they wear on their heads a bonnet with two corners, eagles plumes, and lastly, the entire head of a bear, in which they introduce a skull cap of wood. Of these different head-dresses they have great varieties, but their principal object seems, like their other customs, to render them only more frightful, and perhaps to inspire their enemies with terror.

Some of the Indians had entire shirts of otter skins, and the ordinary dress of the grand Chief was a shirt made of the elk skin. This very dress is well known among the savages of Canada, and other nations on the eastern side of America\*.

I saw no *tattooing* but on the arms of the women, who have also a custom which makes them so hideous, that I could scarcely have credited had I not been an eye witness to it. Every one of them without exception has the under lip cut across even with the gums, the whole width of the mouth. In this incision they wear a kind of ladle without handles, which presses against their gums, to which their cut lip serves as a pad outwards, so that the lower part of the mouth projects 2 or 3 inches†.

M. de

\* "The chief, who always conducts the vocal concert, puts on a large cloak, made of the elk skin, tanned, round the lower part of which is one, and sometimes two rows of dried berries, or the beaks of birds, which make a rattling noise whenever he moves."—*Dixon's Voyage*, p. 242.

† This custom appears very general among the tribes who inhabit the north-west coast of America, from the 50° to the 60°, and extends even to the savages of the Isle of Foxes and the Aleutian Islands.

M. de Vancy's drawing, which is a perfectly accurate representation of it, will be the best illustration of this revolting custom, than which the whole world perhaps does not afford another equally disgusting. The young girls only wear a kind of bodkin, while the married women alone are entitled to the honours of the ladle \*. We sometimes persuaded them

Islands. Vide the observations of Coxe in his translation of *Nouvelles Découvertes des Russes*, pages 34, 54, 104, and 138.

At Port Mulgrave,  $59^{\circ} 33'$  north lat.  $140^{\circ} 22'$  west from the meridian of Paris, "an aperture is made in the thick part of the under lip, "and increased by degrees in a line parallel with the mouth, and "equally long: in this aperture, a piece of wood is constantly wore, "of an elliptical form, about half an inch thick; the superficies not "flat, but hollowed out on each side like a spoon, though not "quite so deep; the edges are likewise hollowed in the form of "a pulley, in order to fix this precious ornament more firmly in the "lip, which by this means is frequently extended at least three inches "horizontally, and consequently distorts every feature in the lower "part of the face. This curious piece of wood is wore only by the "women, and seems to be considered as a mark of distinction, it "not being wore by all indiscriminately, but only those who appear- "ed in a superior station to the rest."—*Dixon's Voyage*, p. 172.

At Norfolk Sound, in  $57^{\circ} 3'$  north lat.  $135^{\circ} 36'$  west long. from the meridian of Paris, "the women, too, ornament, or rather distort "their lips in the same manner as I have already described; and it "should seem, that the female who is ornamented with the largest "piece of wood, is generally most respected by her friends, and "the community in general."—*Dixon's voyage* p. 186.

At Hippah, one of Queen Charlotte's Islands in  $53^{\circ} 48'$  north lat.  $135^{\circ} 20'$  west long. from the meridian of Paris, "there were likewise "a few women amongst them, who all seemed pretty well advanced "in years; their under lips were distorted in the same manner as "those of the women at Port Mulgrave, and Norfolk Sound, and the "pieces of wood were particularly large. One of these lip-pieces ap- "pearing to be peculiarly ornamented, Captain Dixon wished "to purchase it. This curious lip-piece measured three and seven- "eighth inches long, and two and five-eighth inches in the widest "part: it was inlaid with a small pearly shell, round which was "a rim of copper."—*Dixon's voyage*, p. 208.

Compare also what Cook says on the customs of the savages of Oonalaska and Norton's Sound, in  $64^{\circ} 31'$  N. lat. and  $165^{\circ} 7'$  west long. from the meridian of Paris, and of Prince William's Sound, in  $61^{\circ} 11' 30''$  N. lat.  $148^{\circ} 52'$  W. long. from the meridian of Paris. Cook's 3d Voyage.—*French Editor*.

\* Among these savages marriage being subject to no formalities except





A WOMAN of the PORT of the FRENCH.

Pub: June 20. 1798. by I. Stockdale.

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them to take off this ornament, which they consented to with difficulty, making the same modest gestures and experiencing the same embarrassment as an European lady would shew at uncovering her bosom. The under lip then fell down on the chin, and this second picture was no less hideous than the former.

Yet these women, the most disgusting on earth, covered with fetid, and frequently untanned, skins, excited the desires of some persons who, in truth, were well privileged for such caresses. At first they expressed unwillingness, and declared, by their gestures, they ran the risk of their lives. But overcome at last by presents, they made the fun witness of their rites, and refused to conceal themselves in the woods.\*

It

except those dictated by nature, I am of opinion with Dixon that the lip-piece is rather the distinction of puberty or of maternity, than a distinction of rank, or the badge of exclusively belonging to one man. The respect they pay to such as bear this ornament may originate in this principle, for I cannot suppose the privation of this honour to be a punishment in a country so little civilized, and where it would be so easy to recognize those who once enjoyed it.

"This curious operation of cutting the under lip of the females, never takes place during their infancy, but from every observation I was able to make, seems confined to a peculiar period of life. When the girls arrive to the age of fourteen or fifteen, the center of the under lip, in the thick part near the mouth, is simply perforated, and a piece of copper wire introduced to prevent the aperture from closing; the aperture afterwards is lengthened, from time to time, in a line parallel with the mouth, and the wooden ornaments are enlarged in proportion, till they are frequently increased to three, or even four inches in length, and nearly as wide, but this generally happens, when the matron is advanced in years, and consequently the muscles are relaxed; so that possibly old age may obtain greater respect than this very singular ornament." *Dixon's Voyage*, p. 187.

\* The minutiae of Captain Dixon's description coincide, in general, so exactly with those of La Pérouse, that I can scarcely conceive how they should differ so much in their estimation of female charms.

Did chance present to Dixon an object perfectly unique among his

It cannot be doubted, but that orb is the god of these people, who frequently address prayers to him. But I could perceive neither temple nor priests, nor the traces of any regular religion.

In size and figure these Indians differ little from us; their features are greatly varied, and afford no peculiar characteristic, except in the expression of their eyes, which never communicate one tender sentiment. The colour of their skin is very brown, being constantly exposed to the sun; but their children are born as white as any among us. They have, indeed, less beard than Europeans, but enough, however, to remove all doubt upon the subject; and the supposition that the Americans are without beards, is an error that has been too readily adopted. I have seen the aborigines of New England, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay, and among each of those nations have found many individuals with a beard,

his species? or does the difference of his opinion originate in the well known indulgence of a sailor after so long a voyage? Be that as it may, he gives the following account:

"They are particularly fond of painting their faces with a variety of colours, so that it is no easy matter to discover their real complexion; however, we prevailed on one woman, by persuasion, and a trifling present, to wash her face and hands, and the alteration it made in her appearance absolutely surprised us; her countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milk-maid; and the healthy red which flushed her cheek, was even *beautifully* contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her eyes were black and sparkling; her eye-brows the same colour, and most beautifully arched; her forehead so remarkably clear, that the translucent veins were seen meandering even in their minutest branches—in short, she was what would be reckoned handsome even in England: but this symmetry of features is entirely destroyed by a custom extremely singular." *Dixon's Voyage*, p. 171.

In support of Dixon, however, I must cite the Spanish account of a voyage undertaken in 1777, written by Don Maurello, second Captain of *La Favorecida*. This navigator, after confirming the accounts of the ridiculous ornament placed in an orifice cut in the middle of the under lip, adds: "If better dressed, many of them might dispute the prize of beauty with the finest women of Spain."

*French Editor.*

which



which made me think a custom of destroying it has prevailed where it does not appear.\* In the frame of their bodies they are feeble, and, in wrestling, the weakest of our sailors would have thrown the most robust of the Indians. I remarked some whose swollen legs gave symptoms of the scurvy, although their gums were sound; but I doubt they will never arrive at a great age: nor did I see more than one woman apparently of the age of sixty; and she enjoyed no privilege, but submitted, like the rest, to the various labours of the sex.

My voyages have enabled me to compare various nations, and I am certain the Indians of *Port des Français* are not Esquimaux. They have evidently a common origin with all the inhabitants of the interior of Canada, and the northern parts of America.

Customs entirely peculiar to themselves, and a very

\* "The young men have no beards, and I was at first inclined to think that this arose from a natural want of hair on that part, but I was soon deceived in this particular, for all the men we saw, who were advanced in years, had beards all over the chin, and some of them whiskers on each side the upper lip. As this supposed defect among the natives of America has occasioned much speculative enquiry amongst the learned and ingenious, I took every opportunity of learning how it was occasioned, and was given to understand, that the young men got rid of their beards by pulling them out, but that as they advance in years, the hair is suffered to grow." *Dixon's Voyage*, p. 238.

An enemy to all systems and aiming solely at truth in my researches, I shall not discard the assertions of those who contradict La Pérouse, and I believe the reader will derive pleasure from the following extract from the *Lettres Américaines* of Carli, let. 24:

"It is not at all surprising indeed to see the Americans without beard, or hair on their bodies, since the Chinese and Tartars, if we credit historians, are equally deprived of it. Hippocrates tells us the Scythians of his time were without them. The Huns were perhaps the descendants of the Scythians; for, as Fernandez relates, they grow old without beards, and become adult without the ornaments of puberty. The history of Hyton, the Armenian, who fled from Tartary in 1305, and became a monk at Cyprus, informs us the Tartars, particularly those of Catay, have no beard: and how many people in Asia and Africa are in the same situation!"—*French Editor*.

singular countenance, distinguish the Esquimaux from all other Americans. The former, in my opinion, resemble the Greenlanders, and inhabit the coast of Labrador, Hudson's Straits, and a strip of land along the whole extent of America, up to the Peninsula of Alaska. It is doubtful whether Asia or Greenland was the original country of these people, but that question is frivolous, and will, probably, remain for ever problematic and undecided. Suffice it to say, the Esquimaux are a people who delight more in fishing than the chase, and preferring oil to blood, nay, perhaps, to every thing else, commonly eat their fish raw. The framing of their canoes is always covered with skin of the sea-wolf very tightly stretched. Nimble and active in all their movements, they differ little from sea-calves, and wanton in the water with as much agility as if naturally amphibious. Their face is almost square, their eyes and breast large, their figure short. Of all these characteristics not one agrees with the natives of *Port des Français*, who are much larger, meagre, far from robust, and very unskilful in the construction of their boats, which are formed of an excavated tree, raised on each side with a single plank.

The latter catch fish like us by stopping the rivers, or with a line, which they use in a very ingenious manner. They fasten a large bladder of the sea-wolf to each line, and abandon it to the waves. Every canoe throws out 12 or 13 lines. When a fish is hooked he carries off the bladder, and is pursued by the canoe. Thus two men are enabled to attend 12 or 15 lines, without the trouble of holding them in the hand \*.

These

\* "I cannot think that this was altogether designed as an ornament to their hooks, but that it has some religious allusion, and possibly is intended as a kind of deity, to ensure their success in fishing, which is conducted in a singular manner. They bait their hook with a kind of fish, called by the sailors *squids*, and having  
" sunk



These Indians have made far greater progress in the arts than in morals, and their industry is more advanced than that of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. I must, however, except agriculture, which, by rendering man domestic, securing him a subsistence, and subjecting him to the fear of the land he has cultivated being exposed to ravages, contributes more, perhaps, than any other cause to soften his manners, and render him fit for society.

The Americans of *Port des Français* are acquainted with the method of forging iron and moulding copper. They spin the hair of various animals, and, with a needle, form of that wool a manufacture similar to our tapestry. With this web they mingle strips of the otter skins, which makes their cloaks resemble the finest silk shag. In no part of the world are straw hats and baskets more skilfully made. They adorn these with pleasing designs; and sculpture, in a passable manner, men and animals in wood and stone. They decorate boxes of an elegant form with shell-work, and cut the serpentine stone into jewels, to which they give the polish of marble. Their arms consist of the poignard already described, a lance of wood, hardened in the fire, or of iron, according to the riches of the proprietor, and a bow and arrows usually pointed with copper. But their bows are in no respect remarkable, and much weaker than those of many other nations.

I found among their jewels pieces of yellow amber, but know not whether it is indigenous, or imported, like their iron, from the ancient hemisphere, by an indirect communication with the Russians.

I have already mentioned that seven large canoes had been wrecked at the mouth of the harbour. Their

" sunk it to the bottom, they fix a bladder to the end of the line as  
 " a buoy, and should that not watch sufficiently, they add another:  
 " Their lines are very strong, being made of the sinews or intestines  
 " of animals. One man is sufficient to look after five or six of these  
 " buoys." *Dixon's Voyage*, p. 174.—*French Editor*.

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dimensions,

dimensions, as taken from the only one that escaped, were 34 feet long by four feet broad, and six deep. These large dimensions qualified them for expeditions of considerable length. They were covered with the skin of the sea-wolf like those of the Esquimaux, which led us to imagine the *Port des Français* was an emporium only inhabited in the fishing season. We thought it possible that the Esquimaux in the vicinity of the Shumagin Islands, and of the peninsula explored by Captain Cook, might extend their commerce to this part of America, furnishing it with iron, and other articles, and taking, with great advantage to themselves, the otter-skins which they so eagerly desire. The form of these canoes, and the great quantity of skins we dealt for (probably collected here for sale to these traders), confirm this conjecture, which I merely throw out, because it seems to account for the iron and other European articles they possess.

I have spoken of the passion of these Indians for play. That to which they devote themselves with the greatest fury is a game of pure hazard. They have 30 sticks, each differently marked in the manner of dice. Of these they hide seven; each plays in his turn, and he who comes nearest to the numbers on the seven sticks wins the stake, which is usually a piece of iron, or a hatchet. This game renders them serious and melancholy, though I have often heard them sing; and when the Chief came on board, he generally first went all round the ship singing, with his arms extended in the form of a cross, as a sign of amity, and then came on board, performing a pantomime expressive of battles, of surprizes, or of death. The air which preceded this ballad was pleasing and harmonious, and, as nearly as we could note it down, is as follows.\*

\* Those who have the strongest voices take the air a third lower, and the women a third above the principal part, while others sing an octave, and often make a pause of two bars at the highest notes.





M. de Lamanon is the author of the following Remarks on the language of this nation, of which I shall only quote the numerical words, for the satisfaction of those readers who wish to compare various tongues.\*

*Remarks on the Language of the Indians of Port  
des Français.*

|                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| One.....       | keirrk.                 |
| Two.....       | theirh.†                |
| Three.....     | neisk.                  |
| Four.....      | taakhoun.               |
| Five.....      | keitschine.             |
| Six.....       | kleitouchou.            |
| Seven.....     | takatouchou.            |
| Eight.....     | netskatouchou.          |
| Nine.....      | kouehok.                |
| Ten.....       | tchinecate.             |
| Eleven.....    | keirkrha-keirrk.        |
| Twelve.....    | keirkrha-theirh.        |
| Thirteen.....  | keirkrha-neisk.         |
| Fourteen.....  | keirkrha-taakhoun.      |
| Fifteen.....   | keirkrha-keitschine.    |
| Sixteen.....   | keirkrha-kleitouchou.   |
| Seventeen..... | keirkrha-takatouchou.   |
| Eighteen.....  | keirkrha-netskatouchou. |
| Nineteen.....  | keirkrha-kouehok.       |
| Twenty.....    | theirha.                |

\* A more comprehensive vocabulary of the languages of all the nations visited by these navigators was announced, and its publication is a just debt to the assiduity of Messrs. Monneron, Lefseps, Lavaux, Lamanon, Mongès and Receveur; but it is not arrived.

† The *r* guttural, which this nation pronounces still more harshly than the German *chr*, is here expressed by *rh*, as if the French word *rhabiller* were pronounced with a strong and difficult vibration.

Thirty



|              |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| Thirty ..... | <i>neiskrha.</i>         |
| Forty .....  | <i>taakhounrha.</i>      |
| Fifty .....  | <i>keitschinerka,</i>    |
| Sixty .....  | <i>kleitouchourha.</i>   |
| Seventy..... | <i>takatouchourha.</i>   |
| Eighty.....  | <i>netskatouchourha.</i> |
| Ninety ..... | <i>kouehokrha.</i>       |
| Hundred..... | <i>tchinecaterha</i>     |

“ Our letters are not adapted to express the language of this nation : for, though they have many sounds similar to ours, many of their articulations are totally foreign to us. They make no use of the consonants, B, F, X, J, D, P, V, and notwithstanding their talent for imitation, they were never able to pronounce the four first, or the *L mouillée* \*, and *GN mouillé*. They articulate the R as if it were double, with a strong vibration ; and they pronounce the *chr* of the Germans with as much harshness as the Swiss of certain Cantons. They have an articulate sound extremely difficult to catch, and which we could not endeavour to imitate, without exciting their risibility. It is in some degree represented by the letters *khlrl*, which form one syllable, pronounced at the same time with the throat and the tongue. It occurs in the word *khlrleies*, which signifies *hair*. Their initial consonants are, K, T, N, S, M, of which the former are those most frequently used. None of their words begin with an R, and they almost always terminate in *ou*, *ouls*, *oulch*, or other vowels. Their guttural pronunciation, the great number of Ks, and their double consonants, render this language extremely harsh. It is even less guttural when spoken by the men than by women, as the wooden ornament they wear in their under

\* Of this pronunciation the word *mouillée* is itself an example, as *bagnio* is of the *gn*.—*Translator's Note.*

“ lip, which they call *kentaga*, incapacitates them  
“ from pronouncing the labials.

“ The harshness of their language is less striking  
“ when they sing. I was unable to make many  
“ observations on the parts of speech they employ,  
“ as it is extremely difficult to communicate abstract  
“ ideas by signs; but I discovered that they use  
“ interjections to express admiration, anger, and  
“ pleasure, though I do not believe they have any  
“ articles, for I perceived no words that recur with  
“ sufficient frequency, or appeared to serve as con-  
“ nectives to their discourse. They are acquainted  
“ with numbers, for which they have names, but  
“ have no mode of distinguishing the plural from the  
“ singular, either by a difference of termination or by  
“ an article. I shewed them a sea calf's tooth,  
“ which they called *kaourré*, and they gave the same  
“ name to a number of these teeth, without the least  
“ change in the sound. Their collective nouns are  
“ very few; nor have they sufficiently generalized  
“ their ideas to have formed words of abstraction.  
“ They have not even sufficiently definite ideas to  
“ avoid giving the same name to objects perfectly  
“ distinct. Thus *kaaga* signifies at once *head* and  
“ *face*, and *alcaou* both *chief* and *friend*. I perceived  
“ no resemblance between this language and that of  
“ Alaska, Norton Sound, Nootka, Greenland, or the  
“ Esquimaux, Mexicans, Nadoeffis, and Chipawas,  
“ whose vocabularies I have collated. I pronounced  
“ several words of these languages, without their com-  
“ prehending any of them, although I varied my pro-  
“ nunciation as much as possible; but although there  
“ is not perhaps a single idea or thing expressed by  
“ the same name among the Indians of *Port des*  
“ *Français*, and the nations just named, there ought  
“ to be a great affinity of sound between this lan-  
“ guage and that of the entrance of Nootka Sound,  
“ for



“ for k is the predominant letter in each, and occurs  
 “ in almost every word. Their initial consonants and  
 “ terminations are very often the same, and it is not  
 “ perhaps impossible this language may have a com-  
 “ mon origin with that of Mexico; but if so, this  
 “ origin must be very ancient, since their words have  
 “ no resemblance, excepts in the elements of words  
 “ and not in their signification.”

I shall conclude my account of this nation by observing, that we perceived no trace of cannibalism among them, though it is so general a custom among the Indians of America, that I might even have to add this trait to the picture, had they been at war or taken a prisoner during our stay\*.

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## CHAP. X.

DEPARTURE FROM PORT DES FRANÇAIS—EXPLORATION OF THE COAST OF AMERICA—BAY OF ISLANDS—PORT OF LOS REMEDIOS, AND PORT BUCCARELLI OF THE PILOT MAURELLO—CROYÈRE ISLANDS—ISLANDS OF SAN CARLOS—DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST FROM CROSS SOUND TO CAPE HECTOR—A GREAT GULPH OR CHANNEL—EXACT DETERMINATION OF ITS BREADTH—SARTINE ISLANDS—WOODY POINT OF CAPT. COOK—VERIFICATION OF OUR TIME-KEEPERS—BREAKERS POINT—NECKER ISLANDS—ARRIVAL AT MONTE-REX.

**T**HE forced stay I had recently made in *Port des Français*, obliged me to alter my plan of navigation on the coast of America, though I had still time

\* Capt. J. Meares has proved, in his voyages, that the nations who inhabit the N. W. coast of America are cannibals.—*French Editor.*

to range along it and determine its direction; but it was impossible to think of putting in at any other port, still less to reconnoitre every bay. All my proceedings must now be subordinate to the absolute necessity of arriving at Manilla by the end of January, and at China in the course of February, in order to employ the ensuing summer in exploring the coasts of Tartary, Japan, Kamtschatka, and even the Aleutian islands. I perceived with chagrin that so vast a plan scarcely admitted of our descrying objects at a distance, without clearing up any doubts regarding them; for being obliged to navigate within the reign of the monsoons, it was necessary either to lose a whole year, or arrive at Monterey between the 10th and the 15th of September, and stay there but six or seven days to take in wood and water, and then traverse as rapidly as possible the great ocean, over a space of  $120^{\circ}$  of longitude, or near 2400 marine leagues: for between the tropics the degrees are nearly equal to those of the equator itself. I had the greatest reason to fear I should not have time to visit the Caroline Islands, or those to the northward of the Marianas, in conformity to my orders. The exploration of the Carolines must necessarily depend, more or less, on the quickness of our run, which we had reason to expect would be very long, our ships being very bad sailers. The geographical situation of these islands, which are far to the westward, (or to leeward) would not, without considerable difficulty, admit of comprehending them in the ultimate objects of my navigation to the southward of the line.

These various considerations determined me to fix a new rendezvous with M. de Langle, in case of our separation. I had before appointed the ports of Los Remedios and Nootka: it was now agreed that we should only touch at Monterey, which we preferred, because, being the most distant, we should have more wood and water to replace.

Our



Our misfortunes at *Port des Français* demanded some changes among our officers. I therefore gave M. Darbaud, a *garde de la marine*, and an extremely well informed man, orders to act as *enseigne*; and to M. Broudou, a young volunteer, who had continually given me proofs of intelligence and assiduity since our departure from France, a commission of *lieutenant de frégate*.

I recommended to the officers and passengers to sell our furs in China, only for the profit of the sailors; and this proposal being acceded to unanimously and with enthusiasm, I gave M. Dufresne an order to act as their supercargo, a commission which he executed with a skill and assiduity I cannot too highly extol. He had charge of the purchase, packing, afforting, and sale of the various species of furs; and as I am certain there was not a single skin privately disposed of, this arrangement gave us an opportunity to know with precision their price in China, which might have varied had there been a competition of sellers. This also encreased the profit of the sailors, who were thus convinced their interests and their health never ceased to be the principal objects of our attention.

The commencement of our new expedition was far from being fortunate or satisfactory to my impatient expectations. We only made six leagues in the first 48 hours, with light airs, which during that interval varied from north to east, and to south, with foggy, cloudy weather. We were still three or four leagues from shore, and within sight of low lands. We only perceived the mountains by intervals, so as to connect our bearings, and lay down with accuracy the direction of the coast. The latitudes and longitudes of the most remarkable points we determined by very good observations. I was extremely desirous the wind should permit me rapidly to explore this coast as far as Cape Edgecombe  
or

or Enganno, as it had already been seen by Captain Cook, though he passed it at a considerable distance; but his observations are so exact, that he could only have committed errors infinitely minute, and I was convinced, that being equally limited in point of time with that celebrated navigator, I could not pay more attention than him to minutiae, which must be the object of a separate expedition, and would have employed us during several seasons. I felt the greatest impatience to arrive in  $55^{\circ}$ , and to have a little time to devote to this survey, as far as Nootka, from which a gale of wind had driven Capt. Cook 60 or 80 leagues. It was in this part of America, according to M. Guignes, that some Chinese must have landed, and it is in the same latitude that Admiral Fuentes found the mouth of the Archipelago of St. Lazarus.

I was very far from believing the conjecture of M. de Guignes, or the narrative of the Spanish admiral, whose very existence I contest; but struck with the observation I have already made, that all the islands and countries described in the ancient Spanish narratives, though very ill determined both in latitude and longitude, have been again discovered in these days, I was inclined to imagine some ancient navigator of that laborious nation had discovered a bight, whose entrance might be in this part of the coast; and that this fact alone had formed the basis of the ridiculous romance of Fuentes and Bernarda. I had no intention however of entering this channel, should I fall in with it. The season was too far advanced, and I could not have sacrificed to this research the whole plan of my voyage, but in the hopes of arriving in the eastern ocean, by traversing the continent of America; and being certain since the voyage of Hearn that this passage is a mere chimera\*, I was

\* La Pérouse, too accurate himself to suspect the narrative of Hearn to be a political imposition, here adopts an opinion, of which hereafter I shall maintain directly the reverse. See notes on pages 1 and 107.—*French Editor.*



fully resolved only to determine the breadth of the channel, and its depth as far as 25 or 30 leagues, according to the leisure I might have, leaving it to nations who, like the Spaniards, the English and the Americans, have possessions on that continent, to explore it more accurately, and which could be of no use to navigation in general, the sole object of our voyage.

The fog, the rain, and the calms did not cease till the 4th at noon, when we observed in  $57^{\circ} 45'$  N. lat. at three leagues from land, which we only perceived indistinctly, on account of the fog. It dispersed at four, and we clearly distinguished the entrance of Cross Sound, appearing to form two very deep bays, where it is probable ships might find very good anchorage.

It is at this sound the high mountains covered with snow terminate. Their summits are from 13 to 1400 toises high. The lands that form the coast to the S. E. of Cross Sound, though 8 or 900 toises high, are covered with trees to the top, and the chain of primary mountains seemed to go very far into the interior of that continent. At sun-set I had the westernmost point of Cross Sound bearing N.  $25^{\circ}$  W., distant about five leagues: Cape Fair Weather then bore N.  $50^{\circ}$  W. and Mount Crillon N.  $45^{\circ}$  W. This mountain, which is almost as high as Mount Fair Weather, is to the northward of Cross Sound, as Mount Fair Weather is to the northward of the bay *des Français*. These points serve as land-marks to the harbour they surround, and it would be very easy to mistake the one for the other in coming from the southward, as their latitude did not differ 15 minutes. Mount Fair Weather is also accompanied with two less elevated mountains, and Mount Crillon, which is more isolated, inclines its point to the southward. I continued to range along the coast at a distance of three leagues, the mountains being constantly

stantly covered with fog. We only perceived the low lands at intervals, and endeavoured to distinguish the summits, lest we should break the connection of our bearings.

Our progress was very slow, advancing only 10 leagues in 24 hours. At day-break I saw a cape to the southward of Cross Sound, which I called *Cape Cross\**, bearing north  $29^{\circ}$  west. We were then abreast of an infinity of small low islands very thickly wooded. The high hills appeared in the second range, and we no longer perceived the mountains that were covered with snow. I approached these islands near enough to see the breakers on their coasts from the deck, and I distinguished several channels between them, that must have formed good roads. It is this part of the coast, Capt. Cook has called the *Bay of Islands*. At sunset we had the mouth of port de Los Remedios bearing E.  $2^{\circ}$  S., that of Guadaloupe Bay E.  $21^{\circ}$  S., and Cape Enganno E.  $33^{\circ}$  S.: but all these points and capes were very indistinct, owing to the fog which enveloped their summits.

From Cross Sound to Cape Enganno, an extent of coast of 25 leagues, I am persuaded there are twenty different harbours, and that three months would scarcely suffice to explore this labyrinth of navigation. I confined myself to the plan I had formed at my departure from *Port des Français*, to ascertain with precision the beginning and the end of this cluster of islands, with their direction along the coast, and the entrance of the principal bays.

On the 6th the sky being clearer, we were able to take the sun's altitude, and compare the true time with that of our time-keepers. Our latitude

\* Capt. Cook also called it Cape Cross, but fixes its latitude in  $57^{\circ}$  deg.  $57$  min. This difference must arise from the outline of the coast, which here presents several capes: and Cook has doubtless determined the position of that, which on the chart appears most to the southward.—*French Editor*.



was  $57^{\circ} 18' 40''$ , and our longitude, according to the last rate of our time-keepers, as observed upon the *Isle du Cénotaphe*,  $138^{\circ} 49' 30''$ . I have already mentioned the great perfection of M. Berthoud's time-keepers: their loss upon the mean daily motion of the sun is so trifling and so uniform, that we have reason to believe, that artist has attained the greatest degree of perfection of which they are susceptible.

The 6th was a tolerably clear day, and our bearings were taken with as much facility as we could desire. At seven in the evening we still perceived Mount Crillon bearing N.  $66^{\circ}$  W. Mount St. Hyacinth N.  $78^{\circ}$  E. and Cape Enganno \* E.  $10^{\circ}$  S. which last is a low land covered with trees, and stretching far out to sea. Mount St. Hyacinth rests upon it, and forms the frustum of a cone, but rounded off at top, and is at least two toises high.

On the morning of the seventh we saw the opposite side of Cape Enganno to that we had coasted the preceding evening. Mount St. Hyacinth was perfectly distinguishable, and we discovered to the eastward of it an extensive bay, whose depth was concealed by the fog. But it is so open to the S. and S. E. winds, which are the most dangerous, that navigators ought to dread anchoring there†. Its shores are covered with trees, and of an equal height with those to the southward of Cross Sound. A little snow covers the summits of the hills, which are so pointed and so numerous, that the smallest change of situation entirely alters their appearance. These hills are some leagues within the land, and seem to be a third range of mountains. Smaller hills lie

\* Mount St. Hyacinth and Cape Enganno are the Spanish names for Mount and Cape Edgecombe of Capt. Cook.—*French Editor*.

† Dixon anchored there to trade for furs, and gave it the name of Norfolk Sound. Its lat. was  $53^{\circ} 3' N.$  and its long.  $138^{\circ} 16' W.$  from the meridian of Paris. He anchored in 8 fathoms water over a sandy bottom, at three quarters of a mile from the shore. Cook perceived the mouth of this creek on the second of May 1778, but did not anchor there.—*French Editor*.

against

against their sides, and are connected with a low and undulating base, extending as far as the sea. Islands, resembling those already described, lie before this undulating shore; but in the chart we have only laid down with precision the most remarkable: the others are scattered about, merely to shew they are extremely numerous; for to the northward and southward of Cape Enganno the coast is bordered with islands for the space of 10 leagues. We had passed all these by ten in the morning, when the small hills appeared clear of them, so that we could distinguish the windings of the shore. At six in the evening we saw to the N. E., a cape that stretched far out to the westward, forming with Cape Enganno the S. E. point of the great bight, a third of which I have already described to be crowded with small islands. From the extremity of these islands to the new cape we saw two large bays \*, which appeared to stretch very far in land. To this cape I gave the name of *Cape Tschirikow*, in honour of the celebrated Russian navigator, who landed on this part of America in 1741. Behind it we found to the eastward a large bay which I also named Tschirikow bay. At seven in the evening I saw a cluster of five islands †, separated from the continent by a channel four or five leagues wide, which neither Capt. Cook nor the pilot Mau-

\* These two bays, which La Pérouse named *Port Necker*, and *Port Guibert*, are so near together, that it is impossible to ascertain in which of them Dixon anchored. But that navigator having sailed along the shore, to the right and left of his anchoring place, which he called Port Banks, only found bays much smaller than that he entered, and those totally uninhabited.

The latitude of Port Banks is  $56^{\circ} 35'$ , its W. long. from Paris  $137^{\circ} 20'$ .—*French Editor*.

† Dixon has distinguished these five islands by the name of *Foggy Islands*. La Pérouse has placed them in  $55^{\circ} 50'$  N. lat. and  $137^{\circ} 11'$  W. long. Dixon in  $55^{\circ} 50'$  N. lat. and  $137^{\circ} 0' 45''$ , reduced to the meridian of Paris. I deem it unnecessary to detail the reasons, why the place assigned them by La Pérouse ought on every account to be preferred.—*French Editor*.

rello



rello have noticed. I named them *Isles de la Croyère*, from the celebrated French Geographer, Delisle de la Croyère, who accompanied Capt. Tschirikow, and who died during that voyage. As night was coming on I shaped a course to pass outside of them. The westerly breeze continued in our favour throughout the eighth, when, by observation, we were in  $55^{\circ} 39' 31''$  N. lat. and  $137^{\circ} 5' 23''$  W. long. according to our time-keepers. We perceived several great openings between considerable islands, which presented themselves to us in various points of view, the continent being so far from us, that we no longer perceived it. This new Archipelago, which is very different from the preceding, commences four leagues to the S. E. of Cape Tschirikow, and apparently extends as far as Cape Hector. The currents in the vicinity of these islands were very strong, and we felt their influence, though at a distance of three leagues. Port Bucarelli of the Spanish pilot Maurello is in this part. I could not understand either his chart or the discourse intended to elucidate it: but his volcanos, and his Port Bucarelli are situated in islands 40 leagues perhaps from the continent. I confess I should not be much surprised, if from Cross Sound we had only coasted along islands \*: for the appearance of the coast was very different from that further to the northward, and I saw the high chain of Mount Crillon extending to the eastward as far as I could distinguish.

On the morning of the ninth, continuing to sail along the coast at a distance of three leagues, I saw the isles of San Carlos, the principal of which lies S. E.

\* Dixon is of the same opinion, which appears to be confirmed by every probability,—“so that we were near the middle of the island towards the northward and eastward. In this situation we saw high land to the N. W. near 30 leagues distant, and which evidently was the same we had seen on the first of July. This circumstance clearly proved the land we had been coasting along for near a month, to be a group of islands.” *Dixon's Voyage*, p. 217.—*French Editor*.

and N. W., and may be two leagues in circumference. A long chain connects it with other little islands, which are very low, and stretch far out into the channel. I am persuaded however, there is a channel of considerable width \*, though I was not sufficiently certain to attempt it, particularly, as I must have entered it before the wind, and in case my conjecture was ill founded, it would have been extremely difficult to have weathered the islands of San Carlos, while I should lose that time which was extremely precious. I therefore ranged along that farthest from the continent, at the distance of half a league, and as I had its S. E. point bearing E. and W. at the same distance at noon, we ascertained its place with the greatest precision, being  $54^{\circ} 48'$  N. lat. and  $136^{\circ} 19'$  W. long.

Having now a strong breeze from the W. N. W. with foggy weather, I stood in under a crowd of sail for the land, which became covered with fog as we approached. At half past seven in the evening we were scarcely a league distant, and yet I could with difficulty distinguish it, though I perceived the breakers from the deck. I had then a large cape bearing E. N. E. by the compass; but seeing nothing beyond it, we could not possibly determine the direction of this land. I therefore resolved to put about, and wait for clearer weather. The fog, however, never dispersed but for a single moment.

On the 10th of August towards noon, we were in  $54^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat. by observation, and  $135^{\circ} 20' 45''$  W. long. by our time-keepers. I had stretched in for the land at four in the morning, and perceived it during this clear interval at a league and half distance to the S. E.; when it resembled an island. But the gleam was so transient, and so limited in extent, that it was

† This channel seems to be real. Dixon also saw it, and made use of it to delineate, though partly by guess, the strait to which he has given his own name.—*French Editor.*

impossible



impossible to distinguish any thing. We had not even suspected land in that point of the compass; which increased our uncertainty concerning the direction of the coast. We had in the night crossed the most rapid currents I had ever experienced in the open sea; but as we found no difference between our observations and reckoning, it is probable they were occasioned by the tide, and therefore counteracted each other.

In the night between the 10th and 11th, the weather became very bad: the fog thickened, it was very fresh, and I tacked to the offing. At day-break we stood in again for the land, and got so close in shore as to recognize, at one o'clock, the same point we had seen the preceding evening, extending from N. N. E. to S. E. by S.; and thereby connected almost all our bearings, except an interval of 8 or 9 leagues, where we did not see land, whether owing to the fog, or some deep bay or other opening: but I should rather suppose the latter, from the violence of the currents. Had the atmosphere been clearer, no doubt would have been left on this subject, for we got within a league of the shore, and distinctly perceived the breakers. The coast trends much more to the S. E. than I should have imagined from the chart of the Spanish pilot, which cannot be at all relied on. We observed at noon in  $54^{\circ} 9' 26''$  N. lat. and I continued to range the coast, at a league distance, till four in the afternoon, when the fog was so thick, that we could not distinguish the Astrolabe, though within hail. I therefore stood out to the sea. We had no clear interval on the 12th, and I got ten leagues from the land in consequence of my uncertainty respecting its direction. On the 13th and 14th the weather was foggy and almost calm; but I took advantage of some light breezes, to near the coast, from which we were still five leagues distant at six in the evening.

Since we passed the islands of San Carlos we could not strike ground, even at a league from the land, with a line of 120 fathoms.

On the morning of the 15th we got within two leagues of the coast, which in some parts was skirted by breakers, extending a considerable distance towards the offing. The wind was easterly, and we saw a spacious bay. Our horizon was very extensive, tho' the sky was overcast, and we distinguished 18 or 20 leagues of coast on each side, extending from N. N. E. to S. S. W. and seeming to run S. S. E. and N. N. W. much more to the southward than I had imagined.

At eight in the morning I was obliged to stand out to sea, on account of a thick fog that enveloped us, and which continued till the 16th at ten o'clock, when we had a very confused view to the N. E. but the fog soon obliged us to regain the offing. The whole of the 17th was calm, the mist at length dispersed, and I saw the coast at eight leagues distance. Though there was not wind enough to near it, we took excellent lunar observations, for the first time since our departure from *Port des Français*. Our latitude was  $53^{\circ} 12' 40''$  north, and longitude, by our time-keepers  $136^{\circ} 52' 57''$ , and the mean result of the distances of the sun and moon gave  $137^{\circ} 27' 58''$  or  $35' 1''$  more to the westward: and that of the Astrolabe 15 minutes less. The breeze having freshened from the W. N. W., and the weather continuing clear, I approached the land, and on the 18th at noon was only a league and a half distant. Preserving that distance, I ranged along the coast, and saw a bay stretching so far in land, that I could not perceive its shores. I called it *La Touche Bay*. Its N. lat. is  $52^{\circ} 39'$ , and its long.  $134^{\circ} 49'$  west, and I doubt not it affords very good anchorage.

A league and a half further to the eastward, we saw a bight, where ships might possibly find a shelter equally



equally secure; but it appeared much inferior to La Touche Bay. From  $55^{\circ}$  to  $53^{\circ}$  the sea was covered with the species of diver, called by Buffon *macareux de Kamtschatka*. Its body is black, its beak and feet red, and two white streaks rise like a tuft upon its head, similar to those of the catakoua. We saw some of these birds to the southward, but more rarely, and those appeared mere birds of passage. These birds never go above five or six leagues out to sea, and therefore, when navigators meet with them in foggy weather, they may almost certainly infer the vicinity of land. We killed two, which were stuffed. This bird was unknown previous to the voyage of Behring.\*

On the 19th at night we saw a cape, apparently terminating the coast of America. The horizon was very clear, and we only perceived four or five small islands near it, which I named *Islets Kerouart*, and the point Cape Hector.† We were becalmed during the whole night at three or four leagues from the land, which a light breeze enabled me to approach at day-break. I was then convinced the coast we had followed for 200 leagues terminated here, forming in all probability the entrance of a very extensive gulf, or channel, for I perceived no land to the eastward, though the weather was very clear. I therefore directed my course to the northward to discover the opposite side of the land I had coasted to the eastward. I ranged along the Kerouart Islands and Cape Hector, at a league distance, and crossed some very strong currents, which even obliged me to bear away and stand off from the coast. The position of Cape Hector, which forms the entrance of this new channel, ap-

\* Capt. Cook also met with this species on the coast of Alaska.  
*French Editor.*

† This is the Cape St. James of Dixon, of which the north latitude is according to La Pérouse  $51^{\circ}$  deg.  $57'$  min.  $20''$  sec. W. long.  $133^{\circ}$  deg.  $37'$  min.; according to Dixon N. lat.  $51^{\circ}$  deg.  $46'$  min. W. long. reduced to the meridian of Paris  $132^{\circ}$  deg.  $20'$  min.—*Fr. Editor.*

peared to me very important to determine. Its N. lat. is  $51^{\circ} 57' 20''$  and its W. long. by our time-keepers  $133^{\circ} 37'$ . Night coming on, prevented my getting further to the northward, and I therefore spent it in making short boards. At day-break I steered the same course as the preceding evening, and the weather being clear, saw the opposite coast of La Touche Bay, which I named *Cape Buache*; and above 20 leagues of the east coast, along which I had ranged on the preceding days. Recollecting the outline of the land from Cross Sound, I was much inclined to think this bight resembled the sea of California, and extended to the 57th degree of N. lat.: but neither the season, nor my other objects admitted of my determining this point. I resolved, however, to ascertain the breadth east and west of this channel, or gulph, whichever it be called, shaping my course to the N. E. On the 21st at noon, I was by observation in  $52^{\circ} 1' N.$  lat. and  $133^{\circ} 7' 31'' W.$  long, Cape Hector bearing S. E. distant 10 or 12 leagues; but we could not strike ground without our longest line. The wind soon shifted to the S. E. and a thick fog succeeded the clear sky, which had that morning permitted us to discover land 18 or 20 leagues distant. It now blew very strong, and it became imprudent longer to continue my course to the N. N. E. I therefore hauled close to the wind, and stood off and on during the night, under close-reefed topsails. At day-break the wind having moderated, though the horizon was equally hazy, I stood in again for the land, which appeared at noon through the fog, our latitude by account being then  $52^{\circ} 22'$ : the coast extended from N. by E. to E. by N. our depth of water being 100 fathoms over a rocky bottom. After a clear interval of short duration the fog returned, and bad weather appeared to be coming on. I therefore stood out to the offing, after having fortunately taken very good bearings, and ascertained the width of the channel, or gulph, from east to west; which was about 30 leagues  
between



between Cape Hector and *Cape Fleurieu* \*, giving it the same name as to the island lying most to the S. E. of the new cluster I had discovered on the eastern coast of this channel. It was behind this cluster of islands I perceived the continent, where the primary mountains, destitute of trees, and covered with snow, appeared at various distances, and having peaks which appeared to be above 30 leagues inland. Yet we had only seen little hills since we passed Cross Sound, and my conjectures concerning a bight of six or seven degrees to the northward became still more probable. The season precluded my further elucidating this opinion, it being already the end of August, the fogs almost uninterrupted, and the days shortened. But a much more important consideration, the danger of missing the monsoon of China, induced me to abandon this research, to which we must have sacrificed at least six weeks, on account of the precautions necessary in this kind of navigation, which ought only to be undertaken in the longest and finest days of the year. A whole season would scarcely suffice for such an expedition, which ought to be the object of a separate voyage. Ours was infinitely more comprehensive, and therefore its design was accomplished by an exact determination of the width of the channel, which we ran up about 30 leagues to the northward. We also ascertained the latitudes and longitudes of the Capes, which form its entrance, with a precision entitled to equal confidence with those of the most remarkable capes of the coasts of Europe. I perceived with chagrin, that during 23 days since we departed from *Baie des Français*, we had made very little way; and we had not a moment to lose before our arrival at Monterey. The reader will easily perceive, that during

\* Dixon calls it Cape Cos. Its N. lat. according to La Pérouse, is 51 deg. 45 min. W. long. 131 deg. 15 min. according to Dixon, N. lat. 51 deg. 30 min. W. long. from Paris 130 deg. 32 min.—  
*French Editor.*

the whole course of this expedition, my imagination and ideas were extended 2 or 3000 leagues from my ship, because my course lay through the region of the monsoons, or was subject to the influence of seasons, in all the parts of either hemisphere we were destined to explore: being obliged to navigate in high latitudes, and to traverse between, New Holland and New Guinea, straits apparently subject to the same monsoons, as those of the Moluccas or the islands of that sea.

The fog was very thick during the night, and I steered S. S. W. At day-break we had an interval of very clear weather, which, however, was of short duration. At 11 o'clock the atmosphere became quite clear. We then had Cape Fleurieu bearing N. E. by N., and took excellent observations. Our N. lat. was  $51^{\circ} 47' 54''$ , and our W. long.  $132^{\circ} 0' 50''$  by our time-keepers. We were becalmed the whole day, but the wind changed to the N. W. after sun-set, with a very hazy horizon, before which I had set Cape Fleurieu bearing N. by E., its latitude and longitude as determined by M. Dagelet being  $51^{\circ} 45'$ , and  $131^{\circ} 0' 15''$ .

I have already said this Cape forms the point of a very high island, behind which I then no longer perceived the continent. It was concealed by the fog, which became still thicker during the night: and I often lost sight even of the Astrolabe, though within hearing of her bell.

At day-break the sky was clear, and Cape Fleurieu bore N. W.  $18^{\circ}$  W. distant 18 leagues. The continent extended to the eastward, and the horizon, though rather hazy, admitted of my perceiving it at a distance of 20 leagues. I stood to the eastward in order to approach it, but the coast was presently obscured again, though a clear space to the S. S. E. allowed me to discover a cape in that point of the compass.

I now changed my course, to avoid being embayed,

by



by running to the eastward, before the wind, to a gulph from which I should find it difficult to get out. But I soon perceived this land to the S. S. E., towards which I was steering, consisted of several clusters of islands, extending from the continent to the islands in the offing, and on which I did not perceive a single shrub. I passed within a mile of them, and saw grass and drift wood upon the shore. The latitude and longitude of the westernmost of them was  $50^{\circ} 56'$ , and  $131^{\circ} 38'$ . I named these various clusters, *Isles Sartinne*.\* Probably a passage might be found between them; but it would be imprudent to attempt it without much precaution. After weathering them, I stood in for the continent, steering E. S. E. It extended from N. N. E. to S. E. by E., and the horizon was somewhat hazy, though considerably extensive; and if we could not perceive the summits of the mountains, we perfectly distinguished the low lands.

I stood off and on all night, to avoid passing the woody point of Captain Cook, which that navigator laid down, forming a continuation of the coast from Mount St. Elias to Nootka, and which, by affording me an opportunity of comparing our longitudes with his, banished every doubt that might have remained concerning the accuracy of our observations. At day-break I stood in for the land, and passed at the distance of a league and half of the woody point, which, at noon, bore N. by W., distant about three leagues. Its lat. is precisely  $50^{\circ} 4' N.$ , and its long.  $130^{\circ} 25' W.$  Captain Cook, who did not approach so near this point, and only determined its place by bearings, lays it down in his chart in  $50^{\circ}$ , and  $130^{\circ} 20'$  (meridian of Paris) that is four miles more to the southward, and five miles more to the eastward. But our observations deserve more confidence, because

\* The islands of Beresford of Captain Dixon, who lays them down in 50 deg. 52 min. N. lat., and 132 deg. 3 min. W. long. from the meridian of Paris.—*French Editor*.

we were much nearer to the land, and our reckoning was less subject to error with regard to the distance. I may here be allowed to remark the astonishing precision of the new method, which will, in less than a century, ascertain the true place of every spot of the earth, and contribute more to the advancement of geography, than the united labours of every preceding age.

On the 25th I continued to run to the eastward towards the entrance of Nootka, which I was desirous to make before night, although it could not be very important, after having precisely determined the position of the woody point. A very thick fog, which arose at five in the evening, entirely concealed the land, and I directed my course towards Breaker's Point, 15 leagues to the southward of Nootka, in order to survey the coast between Cape Flattery and that point, a space of about 30 leagues, which Capt. Cook had no opportunity to explore.

On the 26th the weather was very foggy, and the wind shifted between N. E. and S. E. by sudden squalls: the barometer fell, but there was no wind. Thus we were becalmed, and had not age-way till the 28th. I had taken advantage, however, of some light breezes to get off the coast, which I imagined to trend to the S. E. We were now surrounded by small land birds, that rested on our rigging, and several of which we took; but their species are so common in Europe, as not to merit description. At length on the 28th, at five in the evening, we had a clear interval, when we recognized and set Cook's Breaker's Point, which bore north, the land stretching from thence to the N. E., and, although the clear interval was of short duration, it afforded us an opportunity of taking good bearings.

The atmosphere was equally obscure on the 29th of August; but the barometer rose, and I stood in for the land, hoping for clear weather before night,  
and



and sounding every half hour. We passed from 70 fathoms water, with a sandy bottom, to one of round flints and 40 fathoms; and standing on, after a league fell again into 75 fathoms water, with a bottom of muddy sand. It was evident we had passed over a bank, though it is not very easy to explain, how a mountain of round flints 150 feet high, and a league in extent, should be placed on a flat bed of sand eight leagues in the offing. We know these flints become round only by continual friction, and this accumulation at the bottom of the sea, supposes a current similar to that of a river.

At length my hopes of the fog dispersing at sun-set were realized, and we took a survey of the land from E. N. E. to N. W. by N., a survey which exactly united with that of the preceding evening. We were at noon in  $48^{\circ} 37'$ , by observation, and our longitude  $128^{\circ} 21' 42''$  by our time-keepers. The last point we had seen bearing S. E. could not be above six or seven leagues from Cape Flattery, which I was very desirous to make, had not the fog been too thick.

On the 30th the sea became very heavy, and the wind variable between S. and S. W., when I stood out to sea. Having an horizon of less than half a league, I steered a course parallel to the coast, in order speedily to arrive in  $47^{\circ}$ , and explore it as far as  $45^{\circ}$ , that interval forming a hiatus in Captain Cook's chart.

On the 1st September, I got sight, at noon, of a point or cape, bearing N. N. E. distant about 10 leagues, and precisely in  $47^{\circ}$  by our bearings. The coast trended to the eastward, and I approached within three or four leagues of it: but its outline was indistinct, and all its windings obscured in fog. Our lat. observed at noon, was  $46^{\circ} 36' 21''$  N., our long.  $127^{\circ} 2' 5''$  W. by our time-keepers, and  $126^{\circ} 33'$  by lunar observations. The currents on this coast are uncommonly violent. We were in a vortex that did not permit

permit the ship to steer, though with a wind that would have carried us three miles an hour, and at a distance of five leagues from land.

I ranged along the coast during the night under easy sail, and steering to the southward. At day-break I stood to the eastward, to near the land; but we were becalmed at four leagues from the shore, and tossed about by the currents, which made us put about every moment, and kept us in continual fear of running foul of the *Astrolabe*, who was in no better situation. Fortunately we had a good muddy bottom to anchor upon, had the currents set us in shore; but the sea was very heavy, and our cables would, with difficulty, have resisted the pitching of the ship. Cape Redondo of the Spaniards bore E.  $5^{\circ}$  S., and the land stretched from thence to the S. Our latitude at noon was  $45^{\circ} 55'$  N., and our longitude  $126^{\circ} 47' 35''$  W. by our time-keepers, and  $126^{\circ} 22'$  by lunar observations. The weather had at last admitted of these observations the preceding evening, which was but the second opportunity since our departure from *Port des Français*. They differed from our time-keepers only  $25' 35''$ . This calm day was one of the most uneasy we had passed since our departure from France. We had not a breath of wind during the night, but sounded every half hour, in order to drop anchor, notwithstanding the heavy sea, in case we were drifted towards the land; but we always found 80 fathoms water over a muddy bottom.

At day-break we were at the same distance from the shore as the preceding evening, and we observed, as on the day before, in  $45^{\circ} 55'$ ; our bearings were nearly the same, and being driven to and fro by currents, which counteracted each other, we seemed to have been turning, as it were, upon a pivot, during 24 hours.

At length, at three o'clock, a light breeze sprung up from the N. N. W. by the aid of which we were  
able



able to gain an offing, and get out of the currents, in which we had been engaged during two days. This breeze carried before it a body of mist, in which we were enveloped, and which made us lose sight of the land. We had now scarcely more than five or six leagues of coast to plow as far as lat.  $45^{\circ}$ , where Captain Cook's observations recommenced. The weather was too favourable, and I was too much pressed for time, not to take advantage of this fair wind. We therefore crouded sail, and steered S. by E. almost parallel to the coast, which lay N. and S. The night was fine, and at day break we saw land bearing N. by E. the sky being clear in that quarter, though very foggy to the eastward. We saw the coast, however, to the E. N. E. and as far as E. S. E. at times, though only for a moment. At noon, our latitude, by observation, was  $44^{\circ} 41' N.$ , and our longitude  $126^{\circ} 56' 17'' W.$  by our time-keepers, at about eight leagues from the coast, which we approached by steering a little more to the eastward. At six in the evening our distance off shore was four leagues, and the land extended from N. E. to E. S. E. and was very much covered by fog. The night was fine, and I ranged along the coast, which we distinguished by moonlight. The fog obscured it at sun-rise, but it emerged at noon, during a clear interval, extending from N. E. to S. by E. the depth of water being 75 fathoms.

Our latitude was  $42^{\circ} 58' 56''$ , and our longitude, by the time-keepers,  $127^{\circ} 5' 20''$ . At two o'clock we were a-breast of nine small islands, or rocks, lying about a league off *Cape Blanco*, which bore N. E. by E. : I named them *Necker Islands*. I continued to range along the land, steering S. S. E. At three or four leagues distance we only perceived the summits of mountains above the clouds, covered with trees, and without snow. At night the land stretched as far as the S. E. but our people looking out at the mast-head declared they saw it as far as the S. by E. Uncertain of the direction of this coast, which had never

never been explored, I made easy sail, steering S. S. E. At day-break we still perceived the land, extending from the N. to N. by E. I steered S. E. by E. to approach it, but at seven in the morning a thick fog entirely concealed it. We found the atmosphere less pure in this part of America than in high latitudes, where navigators enjoy, at least by intervals, a view of every thing that is above their horizon, whereas here the windings of the land did not become once distinctly visible. On the 7th the fog became still thicker than the preceding day; yet it cleared away towards noon, when we saw summits of mountains to the eastward, at a considerable distance. As we had made good a south course, it is evident that from  $42^{\circ}$  the coast begins to fly off to the eastward. Our lat. was at noon, by observation,  $40^{\circ} 48' 30''$  N. and our long.  $126^{\circ} 59' 45''$  W. by the time-keepers; and I continued to stand in for the land, from which I was only four leagues distant at the close of day. We then perceived a volcano, at the top of a mountain bearing E. the flame of which was very bright; but a thick fog soon entirely concealed this object, and we were again obliged to stretch off from the land. As I feared, that by steering parallel to the coast, we might fall in with some island or rock, lying at a distance from the continent, I stood out to sea, for the fog was very thick. On the 8th, towards 10 o'clock in the morning, we had a clear interval, when we perceived the summit of the mountains, but an impenetrable barrier of fog concealed the low-lands from our view. The weather had now become very bad, it blew very fresh, and the barometer fell considerably. I therefore continued running to the S. E. till the close of the day; a course which, by keeping along the coast, would bring us nearer to it, but we had lost sight of it since noon, and the horizon was so thick at dusk, that I might have been very near the shore without being able to distinguish it. As there was an appearance of a gale of wind, and should it  
come



come from the W. I should be embayed, I resolved to stand off under the fore-sail and main-top-sail. It soon blew hard, but not equal to what I expected. At day-break the sky was clouded, but the wind moderated, and I stood in to the eastward for the land. The fog soon obliged me to change my course, and steer nearly parallel to the coast, which I supposed to lie S. by E. The atmosphere was no clearer on the 10th and 11th, and the result of our courses these two days was also S. by E.; our horizon never extending to two leagues, and being very often less than a musket-shot. Our latitude however was  $36^{\circ} 58' 43''$  by observation, and our longitude, by the time-keepers,  $126^{\circ} 32' 5''$ . Either the currents or a bad reckoning had carried us 30 miles to the southward, but we were still 16 miles to the northward of Monterey. I steered E. standing right in for the land; for though the atmosphere was foggy, we had an horizon of two leagues. I stood off and on throughout the night, and the sky was equally cloudy the next day, but I continued standing in for the shore. At noon our longitude was  $124^{\circ} 52'$ , but I did not see land. The fog returned at four in the afternoon, and I determined to make short boards, till the weather became clearer. We must then have been very near the coast, as several land-birds hovered around our ships, and we took a gyrfalcon. The fog continued throughout the night, and at 10 the next morning we perceived the land very much covered with fog, and very near us. It was impossible however to distinguish it, though I approached within a league, and saw the breakers very distinctly, being in 25 fathoms water; but though I was certain we were then in the bay of Monterey, it was impossible to discover the Spanish settlement in such foggy weather. At dusk I again stood out to sea, and the next day steered in for the land with a thick fog, which did not disappear till noon. I then kept the coast close aboard,

and

and at three in the afternoon we got sight of the fort of Monterey, and two three masted ships in the road. The contrary winds obliged us to anchor two leagues from the land, in 45 fathoms, over a muddy bottom; and the next day we dropped anchor two cables length off shore, in 12 fathoms water. The commandant of these two ships, Don Estevan Martinez, sent us pilots on board during the night, having been apprized of our expected arrival in this bay by the Viceroy of Mexico and the Governor of the Presidio.

It is remarkable, that during this long run, though constantly enveloped in the thickest fogs, the *Astrolable* was always within hail, till I gave her orders to reconnoitre the entrance of Monterey.

Before I conclude this chapter, which will only be interesting to geographers and navigators, I think it necessary to declare my opinion on Admiral Fuentes's channel of St. Lazarus. I am convinced no such Admiral ever existed \*, and that a navigation in the interior of America, across lakes and rivers, performed in so short a space of time, is so absurd, that nothing but that love of system, so prejudicial to every science, would have prevented geographers of a certain reputation from rejecting this history: a history, totally destitute of probability, and fabricated in England, at a time when the partizans and opposers of the N. W. passage supported this opinion, with as much enthusiasm, as could at that time have fired the public mind in France, on questions of theology still more ridiculous and futile. The legend of Admiral Fuentes resembles those pious frauds, which sound reason has since rejected with contempt, and which cannot bear the light of investigation. But it may be considered almost certain that from Crois Sound, or at least from Port de Los Remedios to Cape Hector, all the navigators have only coast-

\* See note on page 107.



ed the islands situated in  $52^{\circ}$ , and that between these and the continent is a channel, whose breadth east and west may be considerable, though I do not think it can exceed 50 leagues, as it is reduced to 30 at its mouth, between Cape Fleurieu, and Cape Hector. This channel is probably full of islands, which render its navigation difficult; and I am persuaded, that between these islands are many passages communicating with the great ocean. Port de los Remedios, and Port Bucarelli of the Spaniards, are at a great distance from the continent, and were not the form of taking possession without establishing a settlement too ridiculous to found a title, that of Spain to this part of the continent might be justly contested. For it is demonstrated, that Maurello did not even see that continent from  $50^{\circ}$  to  $57^{\circ} 20'$ : and I am absolutely certain, that to the northward of Cross Sound, at *Port des Français*, we were in America itself; because the river of Behring in  $59^{\circ} 9'$  is too considerable to be met with in any land that is not of an immense depth. I was desirous to reconnoitre it by our boats, but the current was so rapid at its mouth, they could not stem it. Our ships anchored at its entrance, and the water was white and fresh three or four leagues out at sea. Thus it is probable, that the channel between the islands and the continent does not run further to the northward than  $57^{\circ} 30'$ . I know, geographers may, with a stroke of their pen, draw a line to the N. E., leaving *Port des Français* and Behring river in America, and extend their channel to the north and to the east, to the utmost boundary of their imagination: but such a proceeding, unsupported by facts, is a mere absurdity, and it is very probable, that on the coast of America, which forms the eastern shore of this channel, the mouth of some other river, perhaps navigable, may be found, as it is hardly possible the declivity of the land should direct them all to the eastward. Behring river would itself form an exception

ception to that rule. Nor is it probable, there should even be a bar at the mouth of these supposed rivers, because this channel, which is not very wide, is sheltered by the islands opposite to it to the westward: whereas bars are known to be formed by the reaction of the sea on the currents of rivers \*.

\* This chapter, so interesting, to navigation on the great scale, still leaves something to be done for the satisfaction of seamen, and geographers, particularly the partizans of a northern passage. Though myself of that opinion, I cannot but observe, that had La Pérouse determined to reconnoitre all the bays, and all the great openings, which that immense extent of coast, interspersed with islands, presents, he must have abandoned all the ulterior objects of his voyage, and have directly disobeyed his instructions.

The honour of completing the description of the habitable parts of the globe, will belong to the 19th century. The important question of a communication of the two seas to the northward of America, will then be decided. Let us reserve a place then in the tablet of fame, for the immortal name of the enterprising navigator, who shall discover that communication.

To accelerate this period, let us remove every disheartening incertitude, and let us add a few words to what we have already said, in the notes of page 1, 107, and 172.

The ship *Padre Eterno*, commanded by the Portuguese Capt. David Melguer, departed from Japan in 1660, and ran to the northward, nearly to the 84th degree of lat.; from whence he steered between Spitzbergen and Greenland, and passing to the westward of Scotland and Ireland, returned to Oporto.

The Dutch Capt. Vannout, even pretends to have actually got into the South Sea by Hudson's Straits.

I would also request those, who attend to this question, to read the collection of observations on the probability of a N. W. passage, inserted in Capt. J. Meares's Voyages.—*French Editor*,



## CHAP. XI.

DESCRIPTION OF MONTEREY BAY—HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE TWO CALIFORNIAS, AND THE MISSIONS THERE—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE CONVERTED, AND OF THE INDEPENDENT INDIANS—GRAIN, FRUIT, AND LEGUMINOUS PLANTS OF EVERY KIND—QUADRUPEDS, BIRDS, FISH, SHELLS, ETC.—MILITARY CONSTITUTION OF THESE TWO PROVINCES—PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO COMMERCE, ETC.

THE bay of Monterey, formed by New Year's Day Point to the northward, and Cypress Point to the southward, is eight leagues across at its entrance in that direction, and nearly six in depth to the eastward, where the lands are low and sandy. The sea rolls in to the very foot of the downs of sand, with which the coast is skirted, with a noise which we heard at above a league distance. The lands to the northward and southward of this bay are elevated, and covered with trees. Ships intending to put in here, must keep the south shore aboard, and after doubling Fir Point, which stretches out to the northward, they will see the *Presidio*, and may drop anchor in ten fathoms water within, and behind this point, which shelters them from the sea breezes. The Spanish ships that intend making a long stay at Monterey, are accustomed to approach within one or two cable's length of the shore, in six fathoms water, where they moor to an anchor which they bury in the sand of the beach. They are then sheltered from the south winds, which are sometimes very strong, though not dangerous, as they blow off shore. We got soundings all over the bay, and anchored four leagues from the land in 60 fathoms water, over a bottom of soft mud.

mud. But the sea is very heavy there, and ships can only remain a few hours at such an anchorage, while waiting for day light, or the clearing of a fog. At the full and change of the moon it is high water at half past one, and the tide rises seven feet; as the bay is very open, its drift is almost imperceptible: I never knew it more than half a knot an hour. I cannot describe the number or familiarity of the whales that surrounded us. They were continually blowing at the distance of half a pistol shot, and occasioned a very disagreeable smell in the air. This was an effect unknown to us, but the inhabitants informed us the water blown by whales always had that quality, which spread to a considerable distance. But it would doubtless have been no new phenomenon to the fishermen of Greenland, or Nantucket.

The coasts of Monterey Bay are covered by almost eternal fogs, which render it difficult of approach, though in other respects there scarcely exists a bay more easily entered; for there is no sunken rock a cable's length from the beach, and if the fog is too thick, there is anchorage every where, till a clear interval expose distinctly to view the Spanish settlement, situated in the angles formed by the southern and eastern shores.

The sea is covered with pelicans, but it appears these birds never go above five or six leagues from land; so that navigators who perceive them during a fog, will be certain they are within that distance. We saw them for the first time in this bay, and I have since learned, that they are very common on all the coast of California. They are called by the Spaniards Alcatras.

A lieutenant colonel, who resides at Monterey, is governor of both the Californias. Though his government is 800 leagues in circumference, his real command extends but to 282 soldiers of cavalry, who garrison five small forts, and furnish detachments of four

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four or five men to each of the 25 missions, or parishes, into which Old and New California are divided. These little guards suffice to keep in subjection about 50,000 wandering Indians\*, spread over this vast extent of the American continent, and of whom, near 10,000 have embraced Christianity. These Indians are generally small and feeble, and afford no proofs of that love of independence and liberty, which characterises the northern nations, to whose arts and industry they are strangers. Their complexion very nearly resembles those negroes whose hair is not woolly: that of this nation is long, and very strong, and they cut it four or five inches from the roots. Several of them have beards, while others, according to the Missionaries, never had any; though it is an undecided point in the country itself†. The governor, who had travelled much in the interior, and had lived with the savages during 15 years, assured us, those who had no beard, had extracted it with bivalve shells, used as pincers. But the president of the missions, who had resided in California an equal length of time, maintained the contrary. Thus travellers are wholly unable to form a decision, and as we cannot assert what we have not witnessed, we must acknowledge we only saw beards on one half of the number of adults: some of them having it so thick, as to have made a respectable figure, even in Turkey, or the environs of Moscow‡.

These Indians are very adroit in the use of the bow, and killed the smallest birds in our presence. It is true,

\* They change their residence very often, according to the fishing and hunting season.

† We have given our opinion regarding the beards of the Americans in the preceding chapter. But writing as we proceed on our voyage, and as we adopt no system, when we learn a new fact we relate it without hesitation.

‡ The governor had travelled much more than the missionary, and his opinion would have carried most weight, were I to decide the question.

their patience in getting near their prey is inconceivable. They conceal themselves while creeping up to it, and rarely pull the bow, till within fifteen paces.

Their industry in hunting is still more surprising. We saw one of them crawling on all fours, with a stag's head fixed on his own, as if he were browsing the grass; and performing his part so well, that all our hunters would have fired at him at a distance of 30 paces, had they not been apprised of that manœuvre. Thus they approach a herd of stags within reach, and kill them with their arrows.

Loretto is the only presidio of old California on the eastern coast of that peninsula. Its garrison consists of 54 cavalry men, and furnishes detachments to the 15 following missions, of which the functions are performed by the Dominican monks, who have succeeded the Jesuits and Franciscans. These last, however, remain in undisturbed possession of the ten missions of New California. The 15 missions of the department of Loretto, are San Vicente, S. Domingo, El Rosario, S. Fernandez, S. Francisco de Borgia, S. Gertrude, S. Ignacio, La Guadalupe, Santa Rosalia, La Conception, S. Josef, S. Francisco Xavier, Loretto, S. Josef de Cabo Lucar, and Todos los Santos. About 400 Indian converts, collected round these 15 parishes, are the only fruit of the long apostleship of the various religious orders, who have successively undertaken this painful duty. In the history of California by father Venegas, we may read an account of the establishment of the fortress of Loretto, and the various missions it protects, whereby, comparing their past condition with that of the present year, it is evident their progress is very slow. As yet there is only one Spanish village. It is true, the climate is unhealthy, and the province of Sonora, which forms the boundary of the Mar-Vermejo, or Red-Sea, to the eastward, and California to the westward, is much



much more attractive to the Spaniards, who find there a fertile soil and abundant mines; objects far more important in their eyes, than the pearl fishery of the peninsula, which requires a considerable number of slaves, who can dive, and these often very difficult to procure. Yet North California, notwithstanding its great distance from Mexico, appears to combine infinitely greater advantages. Its first settlement, which is San Diego, commenced only on the 26th July 1769, and is the presidio most to the southward, as that of Francisco is the most northerly. This last was constituted on the 9th October 1776, that of Santa Barbara's Channel in September 1786, and lastly, Monterey, now the capital, and seat of government of both Californias, on the 3d of June 1770. The roadstead of this presidio, was discovered in 1602, by Sebastian Vizcayno, commodore of a small squadron equipped at Acapulco, by order of the Viscount of Monterey, who was Viceroy of Mexico. Since that epocha the galleons, on their return from Manilla, have sometimes put into this bay, to procure refreshment after their long runs; but it was not till the year 1770, that the Franciscans established their first mission there. They have now ten, comprehending 5143 converted Indians. The following table will show their names, dates, number of baptized Indians, and the presidios on which they depend. I will here observe, that with the Spaniards, *Presidio* is a general name for all forts, whether in Africa or America, placed in the middle of a country of infidels, and implying, that there are no other inhabitants, than the garrison which resides within the citadel.

| Parishes.          | Prefidios on which they depend. | Date of their foundation. | Number of Indians converted. |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| San Carlos         | Monterey                        | 3d June 1770              | 711                          |
| San Antonio        | idem                            | 14th July 1771            | 850                          |
| San Luis           | idem                            | 1st Sept. 1772            | 492                          |
| Santa Clara        | San Francisco                   | 18th Jan. 1777            | 475                          |
| San Francisco      | idem                            | 9th Oct. 1776             | 250                          |
| San Buena Ventura  | Santa Barbara                   | 3d May 1782               | 120                          |
| Santa Barbara      | idem                            | 3d Sept. 1786             |                              |
| San Gabriel        | idem                            | 8th Sept. 1771            | 843                          |
| San Juan-Capistran | San Diego.                      | 1st Nov. 1776             | 544                          |
| San Diego          | idem                            | 26th July 1769            | 858                          |
|                    |                                 |                           | 5143                         |

The piety of the Spaniards has, at a heavy expence, kept up these missions and presidios to the present time, from no other motive, than to convert and civilize the Indians of these countries; a system far more praise-worthy than that of avaricious individuals, who seem invested with national authority, merely to commit with impunity the cruellest atrocities. The reader will soon perceive, that a new branch of commerce may procure to Spain more solid advantages, than the richest mines of Mexico; and that the salubrity of the air, the fertility of the soil, the abundance of furs, for which they have a certain market in China, give this part of America the most important advantages over Old California, whose unwholesomeness, and sterility, cannot be compensated by a few pearls; collected from the bottom of the sea.

Before the Spaniards settled here, the Indians of California only cultivated a little maize, and almost entirely subsisted on fishing and hunting. No country abounds more in all sorts of fish and game. Hares, rabbits and stags are very common; otters, and sea-wolves as abundant as to the northward; and they kill in winter a very large number of bears, foxes, wolves, and



and wild cats. The coppices and plains are full of little grey, crested partridges, which, like those of Europe, flock together but in covies of three or 400. They are fat, and very well flavored. The trees are the habitation of the most charming birds, and our ornithologists stuffed many varieties, of the sparrows, blue jays, tom-tits, spotted magpies, and *troupiales*. Among the birds of prey were the white-headed eagle, the large and small falcon, goshawk, sparrow-hawk, black vulture, great horn-owl, and the raven. The water fowl found on pools, and on the sea side, were the mallard, the grey and white yellow-crested pelican, goélands of various kinds, cormorants, curlews, ring-necked plover, small gulls, and herons : and we killed and stuffed a promerops, which most ornithologists have thought to belong to the old hemisphere.

The fertility of the soil exceeds conception. All sorts of leguminous plants are in great perfection, and we enriched the gardens of the governor and missions, with various seeds we brought from Paris. They were perfectly well preserved, and will increase the stock of their enjoyments.

The harvest of maize, barley, wheat, and peas, can only be compared to those of Chili ; a fertility, of which the European husbandman can form no adequate idea. Its medium produce of corn is from 70 to 80 fold, and the extremes 60 and 100. Fruit trees are as yet very scarce, but the climate is perfectly adapted to them, being nearly that of our southernmost provinces in France. At least the cold is never more severe, though the heats of summer are much more moderate, in consequence of the perpetual mists, which fecundate the earth with constant moisture.

The forests contain the pine-apple fir, cypress, ever-green oak, and western plane-tree, all thinly sown. A green-sward, very pleasant for walking,  
covers

covers the earth within them, and they have openings of many leagues, forming vast plains amid the surrounding forests, and abounding in every sort of game. The soil, though very fertile, is sandy and light, owing, I imagine, that excellence to the humidity of the air, as it is very ill watered. The nearest stream to the presidio, is at a distance of two leagues: it is a rivulet, which runs near the mission of San Carlos, and called by the ancient navigators Rio de Carmel. This distance from our ships was too great for us to water there: we got it from the ponds behind the fort, though the quality was indifferent, hardly dissolving soap. The Rio de Carmel, which furnishes a salubrious and agreeable beverage to the missionaries and their converts, might with little labour be made to water their garden.

It is with the liveliest pleasure, that I describe the wise and pious conduct of these monks, who so fully correspond with the object of their institution; though I shall not conceal what I deem reprehensible in their internal administration. But I declare, that good and humane in their individual capacity, they temper the austerity of the rules laid down by the superiors of their order, with the mildness and benevolence of their private character. I confess, that more attached to the rights of man than theology, I should have wished them to combine with the principles of christianity, a legislation calculated to make citizens of a race of men, whose condition scarcely differs from that of the negroes of our colonies, in those plantations which are conducted with most mildness and humanity.

I am perfectly aware of the extreme difficulty of this new plan. I know these men possess few ideas, still less steadiness, and, if their conductors cease to consider them as children, run away from those who have had the labour of instructing them. I know too, that reasoning is almost lost upon them, that an  
appeal



appeal to their senses is necessary, and that corporal punishments, with a double proportion of rewards, have hitherto been the only means adopted by their governors. But is it impossible for men influenced by ardent zeal, and possessed of extreme patience, to demonstrate to a small number of families, the advantages of a society founded on the rights of nations, to establish among them the institution of property, so engaging to the rest of mankind, and by this order of things, to induce every one to cultivate his field with emulation, or devote himself to some other species of industry.

I allow the progress of this new mode of civilization would be very slow, the necessary labour of it very painful and tedious, and the scenes of action at very remote distances; so that the applauses due to the character, who should devote his life to deserve them, would never reach his ears. Nor am I afraid to confess, that mere humanity is an inadequate motive to undertake the office. The enthusiasm to which Religion gives birth, and the rewards she promises, can alone compensate the sacrifices, the tediousness, the fatigue, and the risks of this mode of life. I have only to wish the austere, though charitable and pious individuals, I met with on these missions, possessed a little more of the true spirit of philosophy.

I have already declared with freedom my opinion of the monks of Chili, whose irregularity appeared to me a general scandal \* to their order. I shall with equal truth pourtray those truly apostolic individuals, who have quitted the lazy life of the cloister, to encounter every kind of fatigue, of care, and of solicitude. I shall as usual give the narrative of our own adventures, by relating their history, and placing be-

\* There are, however, among the monks of Chili, individuals of great worth, though, in general, they enjoy a licence inconsistent with the way of life they have embraced.

fore the reader all we saw, or learned, during our short stay at Monterey.

We anchored on the 14th of September in the evening, two leagues off shore, within sight of the presidio, and the two ships that lay in the harbour. They had fired a gun every quarter of an hour, to apprise us of the anchoring place, which the fog might conceal from us. At 10 o'clock at night, the Captain of the corvette *la Favorecida* came on board in his long-boat, and offered to pilot our ship into the harbour. The corvette *la Princesa* also sent her long-boat with a pilot on board the *Astrolabe*. We then learned that these two ships were Spanish, and commanded by Don Estevan Martinez, lieutenant of marine of the department of San Blas, in the province of Guadalaxara. The government keeps up a small navy in that port, under the orders of the Viceroy of Mexico, consisting of four corvettes of 12 guns, and a schooner, whose particular destination is the victualling the presidios of North California. It was these same ships, that performed the last voyage of the Spaniards on the N. W. coast of America. They are also sometimes sent as packet-boats to Manilla, to carry with promptitude the dispatches of the court.

We had got under way at ten in the morning, and anchored in the road at noon, where we were saluted by seven guns, which we returned. I then sent an officer to the governor with the letter of the Spanish minister, delivered to me before my departure from France. It was unsealed, and addressed to the Viceroy of Mexico, whose jurisdiction extends as far as Monterey, though situated 1100 leagues (by land) from his capital.

Senor Fagas, commandant of the fort of the two Californias, had already received orders to give us the same reception, as to the ships of his nation; and he executed them with an air of graciousness, and warmth of interest, that deserve our sincerest gratitude.



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Marzell





PROMEROPS of NORTH CALIFORNIA.

*Pub. June 20. 1798, by I. Stockdale.*

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tude. He did not confine himself to kind expressions, but sent on board oxen, milk, and vegetables in great abundance. The desire to serve us, threatened even to disturb the good understanding that reigned between the commandant of the two corvettes and the commandant of the fort, each being desirous to engross the right of exclusively supplying our wants; and to compensate these attentions, and balance the account, we were obliged to insist on paying for them, before they would accept our money. The vegetables, the milk, the fowls, all the labour of the garrison, in assisting us to get wood and water, was furnished gratis, and the oxen, sheep, and grain were charged at so moderate a price, that it was evident they only presented the account because we had been urgent in demanding it.

Senor Fagas added to generous manners the greatest politeness of behaviour; his house was ours, and every one under his command was at our disposal.

The monks of the mission of San Carlos, situated two leagues from Monterey, soon arrived at the presidio, and with the same politeness we had experienced from the officers of the fort and ships, invited us to dine with them, promising to make us acquainted with the minutiae of their institution and missions, the manner of life of the Indians, their arts, their newly adopted manners, and in general, every thing that could excite the curiosity of travellers. We eagerly embraced these offers, and should not have failed to have made an application to that effect, had they not anticipated our solicitations. We agreed to go two days after. Senor Fagas was desirous to accompany us, and undertook to procure us horses. After crossing a small plain, covered with herds of cattle, but only furnished with a few trees, that serve as a shelter to those animals from the rain, or sultry heats, we ascended some hills, where we heard several bells announcing our arrival, of which the monks  
had

had been apprised, by a horseman previously sent forward by the governor.

They received us like lords of the manor making their first entry on their estates. The president of the missions, in his ceremonial habiliments, and with holy water in his hand, received us at the door of the church, which was illuminated as on the grandest festivals; and conducting us to the steps of the high altar, began to chaunt a *Te Deum* for the success of our voyage.

Before we entered the church, we had crossed a square, where the Indians of both sexes formed a line; but their countenances shewed no surprise at our arrival, and even left it doubtful whether we should become the subject of their conversation during the remainder of the day. The parish church is very neat, though covered with thatch. It is dedicated to St. Charles, and decorated with tolerable good paintings, copied from those of Italy. Among others, is a picture of hell, where the artist seems to have borrowed the imagination of Callot. But as it is indispensably necessary to strike the senses of these new converts in a lively manner, I am convinced such a representation never was more useful in any country, and that it would be impossible for the Protestant religion, which proscribes images, and almost all the ceremonies of the Gallican church, to make any progress among this nation. I doubt whether the picture of Paradise opposite, produces on them so good an effect. The quietism it portrays, and the soothing satisfaction of the elect, who surround the throne of the Most High, are ideas too sublime for the minds of uncultivated savages. But it was necessary to place the rewards, as well as punishments before them, while it was an indispensable duty, not to admit of any deviation from the kind of pleasures held out to man by the Catholic religion.

On coming out of the church, we passed the same  
ranks



ranks of Indians, who had not quitted their post during the *Te Deum*. The children alone had moved, forming groups near the house of the missionaries, which, with their several magazines, are opposite to the church. On the right is the Indian village, consisting of about 50 huts, inhabited by 740 persons of both sexes, including children, who altogether compose the mission of San Carlos, or Monterey.

These huts are the most miserable that exist among any nation. Their form is circular, and six feet diameter by four high. Some stakes about the size of the arm being fixed in the ground, and brought together in an arch at top, compose their frame, and eight or ten trusses of straw, badly arranged upon these stakes, defend the inhabitants more or less from the rain, and wind. More than half this hut remains open in fine weather, and their only precaution is to keep two or three spare trusses of straw near each of their houses.

This agrestic architecture, which is universal throughout the two Californias, the exhortations of the Missionaries have never succeeded in changing. The Indians reply that they love the open air, and that it is convenient to set fire to their houses, when they are too much annoyed by fleas, and then rebuild them in an hour or two. The independent Indians, who so frequently change their abode, have, like every nation of hunters, additional motives to this preference.

The colour of these Indians, which is that of negroes, the house of the monks, their magazines, which are built of brick, and plaistered, the threshing-floor on which they tread out the corn, the cattle, the horses, in short, every thing we observed, presented the appearance of a plantation in St. Domingo, or any other colony. The men and women are also assembled by the sound of a bell, and a monk leads them to work, to church, and to all their employments. We declare with pain, that the resemblance  
is

is so exact, that we saw both men and women loaded with irons, while others had a log \* of wood on their legs; and even the noise of the lash might have assailed our ears, as that mode of punishment is equally admitted, though employed with but little severity.

The answers of the monks to our various questions, made us perfectly acquainted with the regulations of this religious community, for such the administration established here must be called. They are the temporal, as well as spiritual superiors, and all the produce of the earth is confided to their management. The day is divided into seven hours of work, and two of prayer, but four or five on Sundays and feast days; which are wholly devoted to rest, and religious worship. Corporal punishments are inflicted on the Indians of both sexes, who neglect their pious exercises, and many faults, which in Europe are wholly left to divine justice, are here punished with irons, or the log. In short, to complete the parallel with the religious communities, from the moment a neophyte is baptized, he seems to have taken an eternal vow. If he runs away, and returns to his relations among the independent villages, he is summoned three times, and should he still refuse to come back, they apply to the authority of the governor, who sends a party of soldiers to tear him from the bosom of his family †, and deliver him to the missions; where he is condemned to a certain number of lashes. Yet these people are so destitute of courage, that they never oppose any resistance to the three or four soldiers, who so glaringly violate the rights of nations in their per-

\* The log is a solid block of wood sawed throughout its length, with a hole large enough for a common sized leg. One end is connected by a hinge; the other being opened to put in the leg of the prisoner, it is then shut, and fastened with a padlock; thus obliging him to lie down, or remain in a very uneasy posture.

† As these people are at war with their neighbours, they can never go to a distance of above 20 or 30 leagues.



sons. Thus is this custom, against which reason exclaims so loudly, continued, merely because a number of theologians have chosen to decide, that baptism shall not be administered to men of so much levity, unless the government become in some measure their sponsors, and engage for their perseverance in Christianity.

The predecessor of Senor Fagas, Don Felipe de Neve, commandant of the inland provinces of Mexico, who died four years since, was a man of great humanity, and a kind of Christian philosopher. That worthy man protested against this custom, thinking the progress of the Christian faith would be more rapid, and the prayers of the Indians more agreeable to the Supreme Being, if they were voluntary. He wished for a less monastic constitution, more civil liberty for the Indians, and less despotism in the executive power of the presidios, the administration of which, might sometimes be placed in barbarous or avaricious hands. He thought it might even be necessary to moderate their authority, by erecting a magistracy, which should be as it were the tribunal of the Indians, and might have sufficient authority to protect them from oppression. Though this just man had borne arms in the defence of his country from his infancy, yet he was free from the prejudices of his profession, knowing that a military government is subject to great inconveniences, when it is not tempered by an intermediate authority. He ought, however, to have perceived the difficulty of maintaining this balance of three powers, at so great a distance from the Governor General of Mexico, since the Missionaries, though so pious, and so respectable, are already at open war with the governor, who appeared to me to be a meritorious officer.

We were desirous of being present at the distributions made after each meal ; and, as every day is alike

with these monastic kind of men, by delineating the history of a day, the reader will know that of the year.

The Indians, like the missionaries, rise with the sun, and then go to prayers, and to mass, which last an hour. During this time, three great cauldrons of barley meal are boiled in the middle of the square, the grain having been roasted before it is ground; this mess, which the Indians call *atole*, and which they are very fond of, is neither seasoned with butter nor salt, and would be to us very insipid food.

Each family sends for the allowance of all the inhabitants of their cottage, which they receive in a vessel of bark. There is no confusion or disorder in the distribution, and when the cauldrons are empty, what cakes to the bottom is given to the children who say their catechism best.

This repast continues three quarters of an hour, after which they all go to work; some to plough with oxen, others to dig the garden, each according to the different labours requisite in the colony, and always under the superintendence of one or two monks.

The women have little other employment than the conduct of household affairs, that of their children, and the roasting and grinding their grain. This operation is very long and tedious, because they have no other method than crushing it on a stone with a cylinder. M. de Langle, observing this operation, presented his mill to the missionaries, than which, we could scarcely have rendered them a greater service; for now four women can do the work of 100, and even have time to spin the wool from their flocks, and manufacture some coarse stuffs. Hitherto the monks, more occupied with their celestial than temporal concerns, have neglected to introduce the most common arts. They are even so austere with regard to themselves, as not to have one chamber with a fire-place, though the winter is sometimes severe;

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nor did the strictest anchorites ever lead a more edifying life \*.

At noon the bells ring for dinner, when the Indians quit their work, and send for their messes to the same cauldrons as at breakfast time. This second broth, however, is thicker than the first, for besides the corn and maize, it contains peas and beans. The Indians call it *pouffole*. They return to work from two o'clock, till four or five, after which they go to evening prayers, which last near an hour, and are followed by another meal of *atole* similar to their breakfast. Thus these distributions suffice for the subsistence of the majority of the Indians, and this very economical soup, might perhaps be advantageously adopted in Europe in years of scarcity, with the addition of some kind of seasoning. But all the art of cookery practised here, consists in roasting the grain before it is reduced into flour. As the Indians have no earthen, or metal vessels for this operation, they perform it in baskets of bark over small lighted coals, turning them with so much adroitness and rapidity, as to make the grain swell and burst, without burning the baskets, though composed of very combustible materials. We may even venture to affirm, that the best roasted coffee does not approach the equality of roasting, produced by the Indians. It is distributed to them every morning for this purpose, and the smallest infidelity in their return, is punished by the lash, to which, however, they very rarely expose themselves. These punishments are ordered by Indian magistrates called *Caciques*, of whom each mission has three, elected by the people from all those not disqualified by the missionaries. But to give a just idea of this magistracy, we shall observe, that

\* Father Firmin de la Suen, president of the missions of New California, is one of the most worthy, and respectable men I ever met with. His mildness, his charity, his love for the Indians, are indescribable.

their Caciques, like stewards of plantations, are mere passive beings, and blind executors of the will of their superiors: their principal functions being those of beadles, and maintaining good order, and an air of seriousness in the church. The women are never flogged in the public square, but in a secret place, and at a distance, in order, perhaps, to prevent their cries exciting too lively a compassion, and thereby stimulating the men to revolt: whereas the men are exposed before all their fellow citizens, that their punishment may serve as an example. In general, they ask forgiveness, upon which the executioner diminishes the force of his strokes, but the number is always irrevocably fixed.

Their rewards consist in small individual distributions of grain; of which they make small cakes, baked under the brazier; and on feast days their mess is of beef, which many eat raw, especially the fat, which they esteem equally delicious with the finest butter, or the most excellent cheese. They skin all animals with the greatest address, and when they are fat, they croak with pleasure like a crow, devouring at the same time the parts they are most fond of with their eyes.

They are often suffered to hunt and fish for their own benefit, and at their return, present the missionaries with some fish or game, proportioning the quantity to their precise wants, but encreasing it if they know their superiors to have any additional guests. The women keep a few fowls round their huts, and give the eggs to their children. These fowls are the property of the Indians, as well as their clothes and other utensils, both domestic and for the chase. There is no example of their robbing one another, though they have no other door than a truss of straw laid across the entrance when all the family are absent.

These manners will appear to some readers, to belong



long to patriarchal ages, who may not consider, that in these huts they have no objects capable of tempting the cupidity of their neighbours. For their subsistence being secure, they can have no other object of desire, but to give birth to beings, destined to be equally stupid with themselves.

The men have sacrificed more to Christianity than the women; for to them polygamy was allowed, and it was even the custom to marry all the sisters of a family. The women, therefore, have gained by it the exclusive enjoyment of their husband. But I confess, that, notwithstanding the unanimous account given by the missionaries, of this pretended polygamy, I never could conceive it possible among a nation of savages. For the number of men and women being nearly equal, many of them must live in involuntary celibacy, unless conjugal fidelity were less strictly observed than in the missions, where the monks have made themselves the guardians of the women's virtue. An hour after supper, they shut up all those whose husbands are absent, as well as all girls above nine years old, and place them under the care of matrons during the day. Even these precautions are insufficient; for we saw men wearing the log, and women in irons, for having escaped the vigilance of these female arguses, whose eyes are inadequate to watch them.

The converted Indians have preserved all the ancient customs not forbid by their new religion; the same huts, the same games, the same dresses. The richest wear a cloak of otter-skin, which covers their loins, and reaches below their middle. The least industrious only wear a piece of cloth furnished by the mission to cover their nakedness, and a little cloak of rabbit-skin tied with a pack-thread under the chin, which covers their shoulders, and reaches to their loins, the rest of the body being naked as well as the head; some, however, wear a straw hat extremely well matted.

The women's dress consists of a cloak of stag's-skin, badly tanned. Those of the missions generally convert them into a little jacket with sleeves, which with a small apron of rushes, and a petticoat of stag's-skin that covers their loins, and reaches half down the leg, forms their whole attire. Young girls under nine years old have only a girdle, and the boys are totally naked.

The hair of both men and women is cut four or five inches from the roots. The Indians of the *Rancherias* \* having no iron utensils, perform this operation with fire-brands, and paint their bodies red, changing it to black when in mourning. The missionaries have proscribed the former, but have been obliged to tolerate the black, these people being so strongly attached to their friends, as to shed tears when reminded even of those who have long been dead, and feeling offended, if their names are inadvertently mentioned in their presence. But here, family connections have less force than those of friendship; and children scarcely know their own father, deserting his hut as soon as they are able to provide for themselves. They retain, however, a more durable attachment to their mothers, who bring them up with the greatest tenderness, and only beat them when they shew cowardice in their little battles with children of their own age.

The old men of the *Rancherias*, who are no longer able to hunt, live at the joint expence of the whole village, and are treated with general respect. Though the independent savages are very frequently at war, their fear of the Spaniards, prevents their committing any outrages on the missions, which is, perhaps, not the least of the causes of the augmentation of the Christian villages. Their arms are the bow and arrow, pointed with a flint very skilfully worked. These bows being made of wood, and strung with the nerve

\* Villages of the Independent Indians.



of an ox, are very far superior to those of the inhabitants of *Port des Français*.

We were assured, these Indians neither eat their prisoners, nor their enemies killed in war, although, when they have conquered and put to death some chiefs and very brave men in the field of battle, they eat some morsels of their bodies; not so much to demonstrate their hatred and vengeance, as to do homage to their valour, and from a belief that such food would increase their courage. Like the Canadians, they take off the scalp of the conquered, and tear out their eyes; which they have the art of preserving from corruption, keeping them as the most precious trophies of victory. They are accustomed to burn their dead, and deposit their ashes in a morai.

Two games employ all their leisure time. One is called *takerfia*, and consists in throwing, or rolling a small circle three inches in diameter, on an area ten toises square, cleared from grass, and inclosed with fascines. Each party has a stick five feet long, of the size of an ordinary cane, on which they endeavour to catch the ring while in motion. If they succeed they gain two points, but if they only catch it at the end of its motion, they count one; and three points are the game. This play becomes a violent exercise, as the circle or the stick are in constant action.

The other game, called *touffi*, is less fatiguing, and is played by four hands, two on a side. Each party in turn, hides a piece of wood in one hand, while his partner endeavours by a thousand gestures, to engage the attention of the adversaries. It has a singular effect to a spectator, to observe them squatting opposite each other in perfect silence, watching each other's countenance, and the minutest circumstance that may assist them in guessing which hand conceals the piece of wood. They gain or lose a point according to their guess, and those who win have the next turn to hide. Five points make the game, and the stake usually

usually consists of some beads ; or, among the independent Indians, the favours of their wives. These last have no knowledge of a God or a future state, except some of the southern nations, who had a confused idea on the subject before the arrival of the missionaries. They placed their paradise in the middle of the sea, where the good enjoyed a coolness never to be felt amongst their burning sands ; while they imagined a hell situated in the hollows of the mountains.

The missionaries convinced, either by their prejudices or their experience, that the reason of these men is never matured, deem this a sufficient motive for treating them as children, and only admit a very small number to the communion. These individuals are the men of genius of their village, who, like Newton or Descartes, might have enlightened their countrymen and their age, by teaching them that two and two make four ; a calculation above the powers of a considerable number. The regulation of the missions is not likely to emancipate them from the reign of ignorance, where every thing is merely directed to obtaining the rewards of a future life, and the most common arts, even that of a village surgeon of France, wholly unexplored. Children frequently perish in consequence of hernias, which the smallest degree of skill might cure ; and our surgeons were happy in relieving a few, and teaching them the use of bandages in that disorder.

It must be acknowledged, that if the Jesuits were not more pious or more charitable than the present missionaries, they were at least more skilful. The immense edifice they erected in Paraguay, must excite the greatest admiration, though mankind will ever have to reproach them, whether from their ambition or their prejudices, with that system of community so inimical to the progress of civilization, and which is too servilely imitated in all the missions of California.



California. This government is a true theocracy with regard to the Indians, who believe their superiors to hold an immediate and continual intercourse with God, bringing him down each day upon the altar. Under the protection of this opinion, the fathers live in the midst of the villages in perfect security, nor is their door shut during the night, though the history of their mission already furnishes an instance of a priest being massacred. This assassination, however, was the consequence of a commotion caused by an act of imprudence, for murder is very uncommon even among the independent tribes, though only punished by general contempt. But if an individual falls under the united attack of several assailants, he is supposed to have deserved his fate, as he had drawn upon him so many enemies.

North California, of which the most northern settlement is San Francisco, in  $37^{\circ} 58'$  N. lat. has no other bounds, according to the opinion of the Governor of Monterey, than those of America itself; and our ships, penetrating as far as Mount St. Elias, have not found its limits. In addition to the motives of piety, that determined Spain to sacrifice considerable sums in the maintenance of her presidios and missions, powerful reasons of state direct the attention of the government to this important part of America, where otter skins are as common as in the Aleutian islands, and other parts frequented by the Russians.

We found at Monterey, a Spanish commissary, named Don Vicente Vassadre y Vega, who had brought the Governor orders to collect all the otter skins of his four presidios and of the ten missions, of which the Governor reserves the exclusive trade. Senor Fagas assured me he could furnish 20,000 every year; and as he knew the country, he said, that if China could take off 30,000 skins, two or three additional settlements to the northward of San Francisco would soon procure them for the national trade.

It

It is truly astonishing that the Spaniards, having such frequent and easy communication with China through Manilla, should still be ignorant of the value of these important furs.

They owe to Captain Cook and to the publication of his work this important information, which will confer on them the greatest advantages. Thus has this great man travelled for the benefit of the whole world, while his nation enjoys nothing exclusively, but the glory of giving birth to the enterprize, and of observing its progress.

The otter is an amphibious animal, as common on the western coast of America, from the 28th to the 60th degree, as sea-wolves on the coast of Labrador and Hudson's-Bay. The Indians, not being so good seamen as the Esquimaux, and their canoes at Monterey being only made of reeds\*, take them on shore with snares, or knock them down with sticks when at a distance from the land. For this purpose they conceal themselves behind the rocks, for at the most trifling noise these animals take alarm, and plunge into the sea. Till the present year an otter-skin bore no higher value than two hare-skins, and the Spaniards had no idea they could ever be much in request. They had never sent any to Europe, and Mexico was too hot a country to suppose they could be disposed of there.

I am of opinion a great revolution will take place in a few years, in the commerce of the Russians to Kiatcha, in consequence of the difficulty of supporting this competition. The comparison I have made of the otter-skins of Monterey with those of *Port des Français* induces me to think the skins of the South are rather inferior. But the difference is so inconsiderable, that I am not absolutely certain

\* Those in the channel of Santa Barbara and of San Diego have canoes built of wood, nearly similar to those of Mowee, but without out-riggers.



of the fact, and I doubt much whether this inferiority can occasion a difference of 10 *per cent.* on the sale. It is almost certain that the new Company of the Manillas will endeavour to become masters of this branch of commerce, and this will be a most fortunate event for the Russians, as it is the nature of exclusive privileges to destroy, or at least to paralyse every species of commerce and industry; while it is the characteristic of a free trade to communicate to both all the activity of which they are susceptible.

California, notwithstanding its fertility, cannot be said to have a single inhabitant. A few soldiers, married to Indian women, who live within the forts, or are spread as it were in patrols among the various missions, constitute as yet the whole of the Spanish nation in this part of America. Yet it is in no respect inferior to Virginia, to which it is opposite, were it but less distant from Europe; its proximity to Asia might, however, counterbalance that disadvantage; and I am of opinion, that a good system of legislation, and, above all, the liberty of commerce, would procure it some inhabitants from the Spanish territories, which are so extensive, that it will probably be a very long time before the population of any of their colonies will increase. The great number of celibatists of both sexes who have devoted themselves to that condition from an idea of moral perfection, and the constant policy of the government in tolerating only one religion, and employing the most violent measures in its support, will continually oppose an additional obstacle to every advancement.

The administration of the villages conveyed to Christianity would be more favourable to population, if property and a certain degree of liberty formed its basis. However, since the establishment of the ten different missions of North California, the holy fathers have baptized 7701 Indians of both sexes, and have buried only 2388. But we may remark, that this  
statement

statement does not inform us, like that of our towns in Europe, whether the population encreases or diminishes, because they baptize some of the independent Indians every day. It only proves that Christianity encreases; and I have already said that the affairs of the future state could not be confided to better hands.

Almost all the Franciscan missionaries are Europeans. They have a college at Mexico\*, whose guardian is, in America, the general of his order. This house is not dependent on the province of the Franciscans at Mexico, but has its superiors in Europe.

The Viceroy is sole judge of the disputes and differences of the various missions, not under the authority of the Commandant of Monterey, who is only obliged to assist them with the military power whenever they demand it. But as he has power over all the Indians, and particularly over those of the Rancherias, and is also commandant of the detachment of cavalry stationed in the missions, these various relations very frequently disturb the harmony between the military and religious government, which last, however, has such a powerful interest in Spain, as to preserve to them the ascendancy. These affairs were formerly carried before the governors of the interior provinces; but the new Viceroy, Don Bernardo Galvez, has re-united all the powers in his own person.

Each missionary receives from Spain 400 piastras a year; their number being fixed at two for each parish; and if there is a supernumerary, he receives no salary. Yet money is of very little use in a country where they find nothing to buy. Beads are the only money of the Indians, consequently the College of Mexico do not send a piastra in specie, but invest

\* The name given to their Monastery.



their value in effects, such as candles for the church, chocolate, sugar, oil, wine, and some cloth, which the missionaries cut into small girdles, to furnish a covering for the converted Indians, though deemed by their independent countrymen unnecessary. The Governor's salary is 4000 piaſtres; that of his deputy, 450; that of the inspecting captain of the 283 cavalry-men distributed over the two Californias, 2000. Each soldier of cavalry has 217, out of which he must subsist himself, and furnish his horse, cloathing, arms, and every thing. The government keep studs of horses and herds of cattle, and sell the former to the soldiers, as well as the meat they consume. The price of a good horse is eight piaſtres, and that of an ox five. The Governor has the disposal of the horses and of cattle, and making the deduction to each, at the end of the year, from the remainder of his pay, liquidates the balance with great exactness.

As the soldiers \* had rendered us an infinity of little services, I asked leave to present them a piece of blue cloth, and sent the mission some coverlets, some sticks, beads, utensils of iron, and, in general, all the little articles they might want, and which we had not distributed to the Indians of *Port des Français*. The President declared to the whole village, that it was a present from their ancient and faithful allies, who professed the same religion as the Spaniards: which so excited their benevolence, that every one of them brought us a truss of hay or straw the next morning, for the oxen and sheep we were to take on board. Our gardener also gave the missionaries some potatoes of Chili perfectly well preserved, which I by no means consider one of our meanest presents, as I am of opinion this root will succeed perfectly in the light and highly vegetative soil of the environs of Monterey.

\* There are but eighteen in the whole presidio.

From the day of our arrival we had been employed in getting water and wood, which last we were allowed to cut as near as possible to our boats. In the mean while, our botanists did not lose a moment from adding to their collection of plants; but the season was unfavourable, the heat of the summer having burnt them up, and their seeds being shed upon the ground. Those which M. Collignon, our gardener, was able to recognize, were the great and the maritime absinthus or wormwood, male southernwood, mugwort, Mexican tea, golden rod of Canada, aster or oil of Christ, milfoil, morell or nightshade with black fruit, *perce-pierre*, (or *criste marin*) and aquatic mint. The gardens of the Governor and missions were filled with an infinity of culinary plants, which were gathered for our use, and our seamen never had greater abundance of vegetables in any part of the world.

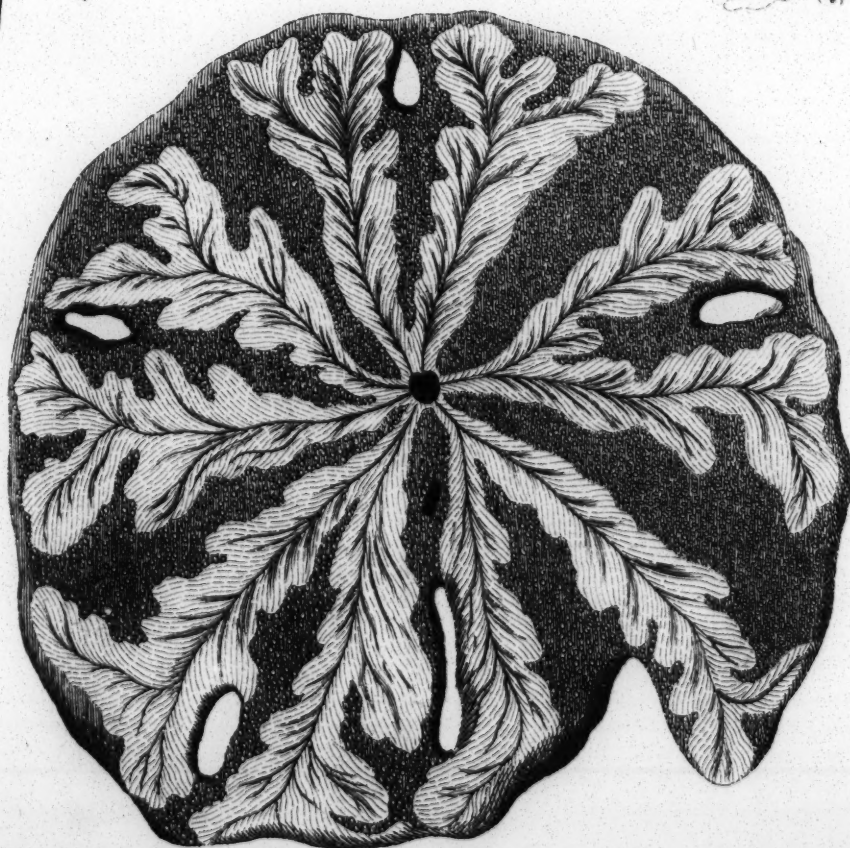
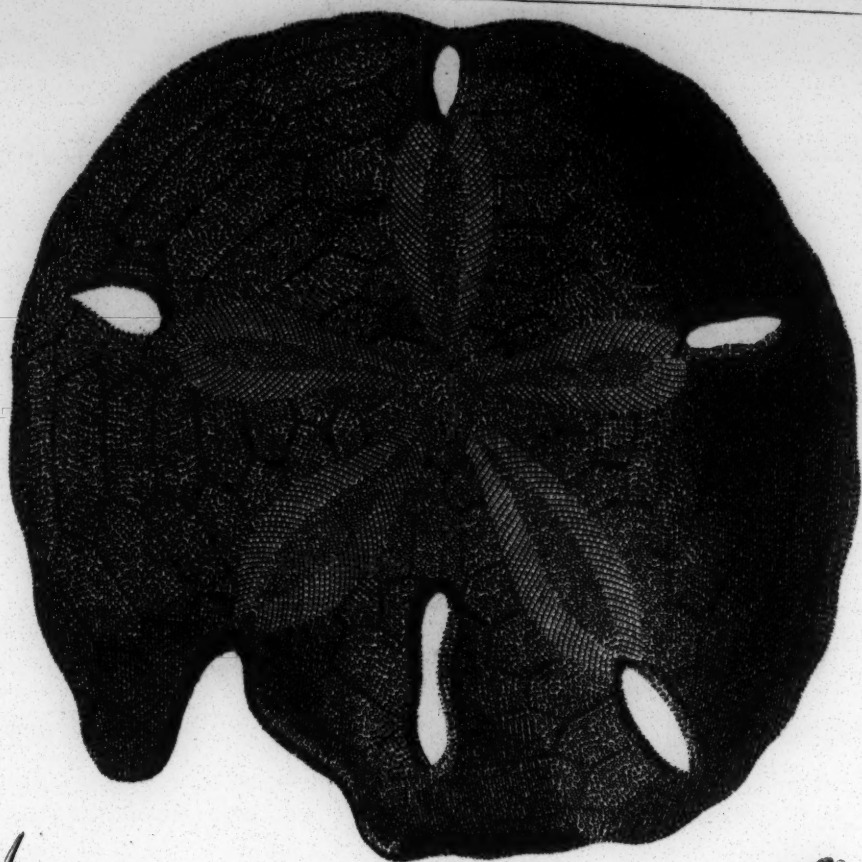
Our lithologists were equally zealous with our botanists, though still less successful. On the mountains, in the hollows, and by the sea-side, they only found a light argillaceous stone, easily decomposed, and formed of a kind of marl. They also met with blocks of granite, in the veins of which were buried chrySTALLISED spars, some species of porphyry, and round jaspers, but no traces whatever of the metals. The varieties of shells were equally few, except some very fine *oreilles de mer*, furnished with the finest oriental mother of pearl, and nine inches long by four broad. All the rest are not worth the trouble of gathering\*. The eastern and southern coast of Old California are much richer in this branch of natural history, and furnish oysters, whose pearls are equal in beauty and size to those of Ceylon or the Persian Gulph. This would also be an article of

\* They found small olives, *buccinæ*, and various shells of the periwinkle kind, but not in the least curious.



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GREEN SEA URCHIN OF THE N. W. COAST OF AMERICA



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Fig. 2

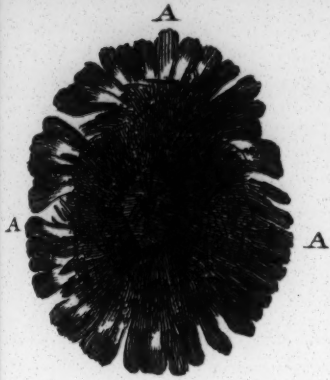


Fig. 1

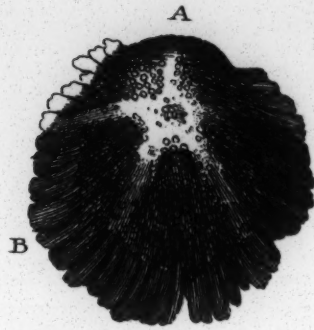


Fig. 7

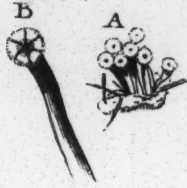


Fig. 8

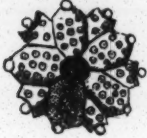


Fig. 5



Fig. 6

Fig. 9

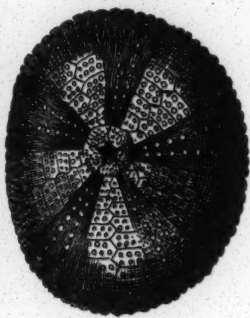


Fig. 10

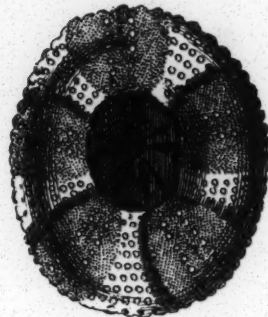


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 3

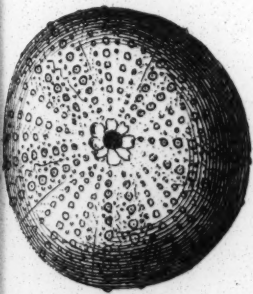


Fig. 2



Fig. 1

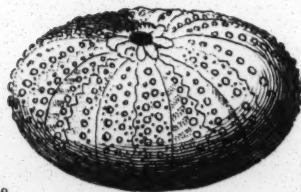


Fig. 8



Fig. 7



Fig. 6



Fig. 5



Fig. 4

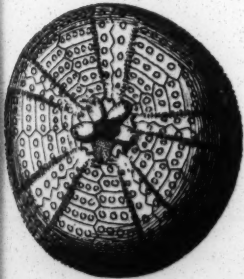


Fig. 9



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great value and certain sale in China. But it is impossible for the Spaniards to cultivate every species of industry their vast dominions would encourage.

On the 22d at night every thing was on board, and we took our leave of the Governor and the missionaries. We carried away with us as great a store of provisions as from La Concepcion: the whole stock of poultry of Senor Fagas and the monks was transported to our coops, and the latter added some corn, beans, and peas, retaining only what was absolutely necessary for themselves. For all these articles they refused to accept any payment, and only yielded to our representation, that they were stewards, not proprietors of the produce of the missions.

On the 23d the wind was contrary, but on the morning of the 24th we set sail with a breeze from the westward. Don Estevan Martinez had come on board at day-break; and his long-boat and crew were constantly at our disposal, and gave us every assistance. Indeed, I can but feebly express the sentiments of gratitude we owe him for his attentions, as well as to Don Vicente Vassadre y Vega, a young man full of genius and merit, who was on the eve of his departure for China, to conclude a treaty of commerce relative to the sale of otter-skins.

## CHAP. XII.

ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS—COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS OBTAINED BY THE DISTANCES OF THE MOON FROM THE SUN, AND BY OUR TIME-KEEPERS, WHICH SERVED AS THE GROUND-WORK OF OUR CHART OF THE AMERICAN COAST—REASONS FOR THINKING OUR LABOURS DESERVE THE CONFIDENCE OF NAVIGATORS—VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE DIFFERENT TRIBES IN THE VICINITY OF MONTEREY, WITH REMARKS ON THEIR PRONUNCIATION.

WHILE our crews were employed in completing our wood and water, M. Dagelet got his quadrant ashore, in order to determine with the greatest precision the latitude of Monterey. He regretted much, that circumstances did not admit of my staying long enough to resume the comparison of our time-keepers. The robbery of the papers containing our observations, by the savages at *Port des Français* left him in some uncertainty concerning the daily loss on mean time of the time-keeper No. 19, by which we had determined all the points of the coast of America. That astronomer even thought he ought to consider the comparisons made in the *Isle du Cénotaphe* as null, preferring those of the bay of Talcaguana in Chili, though perhaps too long past, still to deserve full confidence. But it ought not to be forgot, that each day we compared the result of the longitude given by the time-keeper, with that deduced from lunar observations taken on board each frigate, and that the constant and perfect agreement of these results, cannot leave any doubt, concerning the accuracy of those to which we have adhered.

As those who apply themselves to the study of sciences,



sciences, may be desirous to know the limits of the errors, of which the determinations of longitude at sea, deduced from observations of the distance of the moon from the sun, are susceptible, it will not appear mal-apropos to give an idea of it in this place.

Theory, assisted by a long series of observations, has not yet been able to furnish perfectly accurate tables of the moon's motion. Yet, considering the degree of precision these tables have already attained, this first source of error only leaves an uncertainty of 40 or 50 seconds of time at most, and generally not exceeding 30 seconds, making only a quarter of a geographical degree of longitude; because the motion of the moon with respect to the sun is, by a middle term, half a minute of a degree for every minute of time, and the minute of time answers to a quarter of a degree of longitude. From whence it follows, that the longitudes deduced from a comparison of the distances observed at sea, with the distances calculated for the same points of time, and for a fixed meridian, cannot be affected by an error in the tables, if there is one, above a quarter of a degree in most cases, often less, and very rarely more.

The second source of errors, arising from the imperfection of the instruments and want of accuracy or skill in the observer, cannot be determined with equal precision to that resulting from the imperfection of the tables.

As to quadrants and sextants, the limits of the error depend, as far as regards the instrument, on the accuracy of the divisions; and with regard to the observer, 1st, on the difficulty of verifying the point 0; 2d, on that of accurately observing the contact of the two planets: and this last depends on the goodness of the sight, habit, and skill of the observer.

The reflecting circles have no common cause of error with the sextants and quadrants, but the difficulty

of observing the contacts; whereas they possess several advantages which render them more certain. The principal of these are, that the error to be apprehended in their verification is a nullity; because the observations being made successively in opposite directions, to the right and left, there is no occasion for these verifications. As to the inaccuracy of the divisions, it is reduced at pleasure, according to the frequency with which the observations are repeated; and it depends on the patience alone of the observer, that the error arising from the divisions may, at last, be considered as a mere nullity.\* After having thus established the limits of the errors, we are authorized to conclude, that the *medium* of our results, for the determination of the longitude by lunar observations, could not in any case be affected by an error exceeding a quarter of a degree. For having constantly used the reflecting circle, and having never neglected, for each operation, to repeat the observation as often as the circumstances of the weather would permit, and the observers being also perfectly practised, we had nothing further to fear, than the uncertainty or limited error that might arise from the imperfection of the lunar tables.

Thus then we were enabled to employ with confidence the results of these operations, repeated almost daily, to establish the regularity of the time-keeper, by the comparison of its results with those of the former. We confide also, and doubtless not without sufficient reason, in the combination and constant agreement of the several results of observations obtained in different circumstances, separately, as I have already stated, on board each ship; which serving reciprocally as proofs, have furnished a joint and in-

\* The sextants we used were made by the English optician Ramsden; the reflecting circles, invented by M. de Borda, were executed by Lenoir, a French mathematical and astronomical instrument maker.



contestible argument of the undeviating regularity of the time-keeper, No. 19, by the aid of which we determined the longitudes of all the points of the coast of America, we reconnoitred. The precautions of every kind, which we multiplied and accumulated, afford me an assurance, that our determinations arrived at a degree of precision which ought to procure them the confidence both of learned men and navigators.

The utility of time-keepers is so generally acknowledged, and so clearly explained in the *Voyage de M. de Fleurieu*, that we shall only speak of the advantages they procured us, in order more fully to show how much M. Berthoud has surpassed the former limits of his art, since, after an interval of 18 months, No. 18 and No. 19 gave results equally satisfactory as at our departure, and permitted us to determine, several times in a day, our exact situation as to longitude, according to which M. Bernizet constructed the chart of the coast of America.\*

This chart, no doubt, leaves much to be done in regard to minutiae; but we can answer for the principal points of the coast, which are determined with perfect precision, as well as for its direction. It appeared to us in general bold; we perceived no breakers in the offing, and though there might be some sand banks near the coast, we had no reason to think there were.

M. de Lamanon, who is the author of the following observations, is of opinion, that it is extremely difficult to give accurate vocabularies of the languages of the various tribes inhabiting the vicinity of

\* I ought to observe, that the labour of the astronomical observations of the chart was common to both ships; and as M. Mongé had quitted us at Teneriffe, M. de Langle, who is himself a very good astronomer, was charged with the direction of all this part of the work, in which he was assisted by Messrs. Vaujuas, Lauriston, and Blondela; of whom the last mentioned drew part of the charts, according to the observations with which he was furnished.

Monterey. All he could answer for, is the great pains and attention he bestowed to avoid being the cause of the adoption of errors. He could not, perhaps, even himself place any confidence in his own observations, had he not, at the missions where he staid four days, met with two Indians, who, being perfectly acquainted with the Spanish, afforded him the greatest assistance.

I shall therefore observe, from the remarks of M. Lamanon, that there is, perhaps, no country where the various languages of the inhabitants are so extremely multiplied as in North California. The numerous tribes that divide that country, although situated very near each other, live in an insulated manner, and have each a separate language. It is the difficulty of learning them all, that consoles the Missionaries for not being acquainted with any of them. Thus they stand in need of an interpreter in their sermons, and in their exhortations at the point of death.

Monterey, and the Mission of San Carlos, which is dependent upon it, comprehend the country of the Achastlians and the Ecclemachs. The languages of these people, partly united in the same mission, would soon form a third, if the converted Indians ceased to hold communication with those of the Rancherias. The language of the Achastlians is commensurate with the feeble developement of their intellect. As they have few abstract ideas, they have very few words to express them: they did not even appear to distinguish, by different names, all the species of animals; and called by the same name of *ouakeche*, both toads and frogs: nor do they distinguish better the vegetables they make use of. Their epithets, when applied to moral subjects, are almost all borrowed from the sense of tasting, which they are fondest of gratifying; thus they use the word *missich* to express a good



good man or savoury food, and *keches* for a bad man or corrupted meat.

They distinguish the plural from the singular, and conjugate some tenses of verbs; but they have no declensions, and their substantives are much more numerous than their adjectives. They never make use of the labials F and B, or of the letter x; but they have the *chr* as at *Port des Français*, as *chrskon-der*, a bird, and *chruck*, a hut; though their pronunciation is generally softer.

The diphthong *ou* occurs in above half their words, as *chouroui*, to sing; *touroun*, the skin; *touours*, a finger-nail; and the most common initial consonants are r and k; but their terminations are very various.

They make use of their fingers in counting as far as 10, few of them being able to do it by memory, or without the assistance of some external sign. If they would express the number nine, they begin to count with their fingers, one, two, three, and stop when they have pronounced the word with which they should have begun. They scarcely get as far even as the number five without this aid.

Their numerical terms are

|            |                        |
|------------|------------------------|
| One.....   | <i>moukala.</i>        |
| Two.....   | <i>outis.</i>          |
| Three..... | <i>cares.</i>          |
| Four.....  | <i>outiti.</i>         |
| Five.....  | <i>is.</i>             |
| Six.....   | <i>etefake.</i>        |
| Seven..... | <i>kaleis.</i>         |
| Eight..... | <i>oulousmasakhen.</i> |
| Nine.....  | <i>pak.</i>            |
| Ten.....   | <i>tonta.</i>          |

The country of the Ecclemachs extends above 20 leagues to the eastward of Monterey. Their language is totally different from all those of their neighbours, and has even more resemblance to the lan-

guages of Europe than to those of America. This grammatical phenomenon, the most curious in this respect ever observed on the continent, will, perhaps, be interesting to those of the learned, who seek, in the analogy of languages, the history and genealogy of transplanted nations. It appears, that the languages of America have a characteristic difference, which totally separates them from those of the ancient hemisphere. In comparing them with those of Brazil, Chili, and a part of California, as well as with the numerous vocabularies given by various travellers, it appears, that the American languages in general are deficient in labials, and particularly the letter F, which the Ecclemachs however employ, pronouncing it like the Europeans. The dialect of this tribe is, in other respects, more copious than that of the other nations of California, though it cannot be compared with the languages of civilized nations. Should it be inferred from hence, that the Ecclemachs are foreigners in this part of America, it must be at least admitted, that they have inhabited it for a long time, since they differ neither in colour, in countenance, nor in their general make and external appearance, from the other nations of that country.

Their numerical terms are,

|              |                      |
|--------------|----------------------|
| One .....    | <i>pek.</i>          |
| Two .....    | <i>oulach.</i>       |
| Three .....  | <i>oullef.</i>       |
| Four .....   | <i>amnahan.</i>      |
| Five .....   | <i>pemaca.</i>       |
| Six .....    | <i>pekoulana.</i>    |
| Seven .....  | <i>houlakoolano.</i> |
| Eight .....  | <i>koulefala.</i>    |
| Nine .....   | <i>kamakoualane.</i> |
| Ten .....    | <i>tomöila.</i>      |
| Friend ..... | <i>nigefech.</i>     |
| Bow .....    | <i>pagounach.</i>    |

Beard



|                    |                  |
|--------------------|------------------|
| Beard . . . . .    | <i>iscotre.</i>  |
| To dance . . . . . | <i>mefpa.</i>    |
| Teeth . . . . .    | <i>aour.</i>     |
| Phoca . . . . .    | <i>opopabos.</i> |
| No . . . . .       | <i>maal.</i>     |
| Yes . . . . .      | <i>ike.</i>      |
| Father . . . . .   | <i>aoi.</i>      |
| Mother . . . . .   | <i>atzia.</i>    |
| Star . . . . .     | <i>aimoulas.</i> |
| Night . . . . .    | <i>toumanes.</i> |

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### C H A P. XIII.

DEPARTURE FROM MONTEREY—OUR PROJECTED ROUTE FOR CROSSING THE WESTERN OCEAN TO CHINA—VAIN SEARCH FOR THE ISLAND OF NUESTRA SENORA DE LA GORTA—DISCOVERY OF THE ISLAND OF NECKER—WE MEET WITH A SUNKEN ROCK IN THE NIGHT, ON WHICH WE WERE NEARLY CAST AWAY—DESCRIPTION OF THIS ROCK—DETERMINATION OF ITS LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE—VAIN SEARCH FOR THE ISLAND OF LA MIRA AND GARDEN ISLAND—WE MAKE THE ISLAND OF ASSUMPTION, ONE OF THE MARIANAS OR LAURONES—DESCRIPTION AND TRUE PLACE OF THIS ISLAND, BOTH IN LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE—ERROR IN THE ANCIENT CHART OF THE MARIANAS—WE DETERMINE THE LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE OF THE BASHEE ISLANDS—WE ANCHOR IN THE HARBOUR OF MACAO.

THE part of the great ocean we had to cross, in order to reach Macao, is almost unknown, and afforded us an expectation of meeting with some undiscovered islands. The Spaniards, who alone frequent it, have no longer that ardour for discoveries,

ries, which their thirst of gold perhaps first excited, but which induced them to encounter every danger. To that ancient enthusiasm have succeeded the frigid calculations of security; and their track, during their run from Acapulco to Manilla, is confined within a space of twenty leagues, between the thirteenth and fourteenth degree of latitude. On their return they nearly run on the parallel of the fortieth degree, by the assistance of the westerly winds, which are very frequent in these parts. Certain, from long experience, of not meeting with either sunken rocks or shoals, they can navigate by night with as little precaution as in the seas of Europe; and their runs being more direct, become shorter, and the interests of the owners less exposed to loss by shipwreck.

The object, however, of our voyage being to make new discoveries, and to advance the progress of navigation in seas as yet but little known, we avoided the most frequented tracks with as much care as the galleons employ to keep, as it were, in the very wake of the vessel that preceded them. We were, however, obliged to navigate within the latitude of the trade winds, as we could not expect, without their aid, to arrive at China within six months, so as to accomplish the ulterior objects of our voyage.

On leaving Monterey, I intended to direct my course to the S. W. as far as the latitude of  $28^{\circ}$ , in which parallel some geographers have placed the island of Nuestra Senora de la Gorta. All my researches to know what ancient navigator first discovered this island, were unsuccessful. I repeatedly turned over my own notes, and all the printed voyages on board of both our ships, but I found neither a history nor a legend of this pretended island, to which I imagine geographers have continued to give a place in the great ocean, merely in conformity to the chart taken by Admiral Lord Anson on board the galleon from Manilla\*.

\* See note on pages 85 and 86.



At Monterey I had procured a manuscript Spanish chart of this ocean, which however differs but very little from that engraved under the direction of the editor of Anson's voyage. And it may be asserted, that since the capture of the galleon from Manilla by that admiral, and even for the last two centuries, no advances have been made in the knowledge of this sea, except in consequence of the fortunate discovery of the Sandwich islands; the Resolution and the Discovery being the only ships, except the Boussöle and the Astrolabe, which, for 200 years, have quitted the track pursued by the galleons \*.

We were detained two days, in sight of Monterey, by contrary winds and calms, but they soon settled at N. W. and enabled me to get into the latitude of  $28^{\circ}$ , on which parallel I proposed to run down 500 leagues, as far as the longitude assigned to the island of Nuestra Senora de la Gorta; less indeed with a hope of meeting with that island, than to expunge it from our charts, because it would be desirable for the interests of navigation, that islands, whose latitude and longitude are erroneously laid down, should remain in oblivion or totally unknown, till accurate observations, at least, of latitude have given the line of their true place, should no observations of longitude have admitted of determining the precise point they occupy on the surface of the globe. I intended afterwards to incline towards the S. W. and to cross the track of Capt. Clerke, in the 20th degree of latitude, and the 179th degree of E. longitude, from the meridian of Paris; which is nearly the spot where this English captain was obliged to quit that track, in order to reach Kamtschatka †.

My

\* Admiral Anson and various buccaneers, having no object but to make captures, have always followed the common track.

† Captain Clerke determined, after leaving the Sandwich Islands, to run along the parallel of 20 deg. as far as the meridian of Kamtschatka;

My run was at first very fortunate. The wind changed from N. W. to N. E. and I doubted not we had got into the region of the periodical winds; but from the 18th of October they shifted to the westward, and continued as obstinately in that quarter as in the high latitudes, only varying from N. W. to S. W. I struggled against these obstacles eight or ten days, taking advantage of every variation in the wind to get to the westward, and thus at last get into the longitude I proposed.

We had, during that time, almost continual rains and storms, which caused an extreme humidity in the between-decks, and drenched all the sailors clothes: I much feared the scurvy would be the consequence of this bad weather; but we had only a few degrees to run to arrive at the meridian I wished for; I reached it on the 27th of October. We had then no signs of land, but two birds of the *coulon-chaud* kind\*, which were caught on board the *Astrolabe*, and these were so lean, that it seemed extremely probable they had lost their way for a long time out at sea, and might come from the Sandwich Islands, from which we were but 120 leagues. The island of *Nuestra Senora de la Gorta* being laid down on my Spanish map 45 miles more to the southward, and five degrees more to the eastward, than upon Admiral Anson's chart, I shaped my course to pass this second point, though with no better success. The westerly winds still continuing to blow in these seas, I endeavoured to approach the tropic, in order at length to meet with the trade winds, which would carry us into Asia, and

Kamtschatka; because that track being unfrequented, he hoped to make discoveries there. He did not alter his course till the 30th March, 1779, when he was in 180 deg. 40 min. E. long. or 179 deg. 20 min. west of the meridian of Greenwich; which gives 178 deg. 20 min. E. long. from that of Paris.—*French Editor.*

\* These are a marine bird, better known by the name of sea-larks.

whose



whose temperature seemed more calculated to maintain the ships companies in good health. It is true we had not as yet one sick man on board, but our voyage, though already very long, was scarcely commenced, if compared with the immense space we had still to pass over. If the vast plan of our navigation disheartened no man, yet our sails and rigging reminded us every day, that we had been 16 months constantly at sea ; for at every instant some of our running ropes were breaking, and our sail-makers were scarcely sufficient to repair our sails, which were almost entirely worn out. We had, it is true, other suits on board, but the length of our intended voyage demanded the strictest economy, and almost half our cordage was already unserviceable, though we were still very far from having accomplished half our projected navigation.

On the 3d November, in  $24^{\circ} 4' N.$  lat. and  $165^{\circ} 2' W.$  long. we were surrounded by birds of the noddy, man-of-war bird, and tern kinds, which generally go but a little way from the land. We therefore stood on with more caution, shortening sail at night ; and in the evening of the 4th November, got sight of an island bearing west, distant four or five leagues, which, though it appeared inconsiderable, we flattered ourselves was not alone.

I made the signal to keep close to the wind, and to stand off and on all night, waiting with the greatest impatience for day-light to pursue our discovery. At five in the morning of the 5th November, we were but three leagues from the island, and I bore away right before the wind to reconnoitre it. I hailed the *Astrolabe* to make sail a-head and prepare to anchor, in case the coast should afford an anchorage and a creek where we might land.

This island, which is very small, is almost a mere rock, about 500 toises long, and at most 60 high ; and though totally destitute of trees, it is furnished

ed with a great deal of herbage towards its summit. The naked rock is covered with the dung of birds, and appearing white, forms a contrast with the various red spots where grass has not grown. I approached it within a mile, and its shores were as perpendicular as a wall, the sea breaking violently against it in every part, so that it was impossible to attempt a landing. As we went almost round this island, we laid it down with great precision. Its latitude and longitude, as determined by M. Dagelet, are  $23^{\circ} 34'$  N. and  $166^{\circ} 52'$  W. from Paris. I named it *Isle Necker*. If the sterility of this island renders it of little importance, its precise place is extremely interesting to navigators, to whom it might otherwise be fatal. I passed very near its southernmost shore without sounding, to avoid stopping the ship's way. Breakers appeared on every part of the shore, except the S. E. point, where was a small ridge of rocks that might extend two cables' length. Wishing to know, before we continued our route, whether we could strike ground, I sounded, as did the *Astrolabe*, who was near a league to leeward, when on board each ship we only found 25 fathoms, over a bottom of broken shells. M. de Langle and myself were far from supposing there was so small a depth of water, and I thought it evident that Necker Island is now but the summit or nucleus of a much more considerable island, which the sea has, by degrees, washed away, because in all probability consisting of a tender substance, or easily broke away; though the rock which now remains is very hard, and will equally defy, for succeeding ages, the silent mouldering of time and the boisterous efforts of the sea. As it was important we should ascertain the extent of this bank, we continued sounding on board each ship, and steering to the westward. The depth encreased gradually as we got further from the land; and, at about ten miles distance, a line of 150 fathoms did not reach the

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the ground. Throughout this space of ten miles we only found a bottom of coral and broken shells.

The whole of that day we had men continually looking out at the mast-head. The weather was squally and rainy, though from time to time we had very clear intervals, during which we could see ten or twelve leagues. At sun-set it was as fine as possible in every quarter, and we saw nothing all around except birds, whose number had not diminished, flights of several hundreds crossing each other's track, and thus baffling our observations, regarding the point of the horizon to which they directed their course.

We had so fine a view at dusk, and the moon, which was almost at the full, afforded so strong a light, that I thought we might safely stand on. In fact I had perceived in the evening Necker Island at four or five leagues distance. However, I ordered all the studding sails to be taken in, and to reduce the way of both ships to three or four knots an hour. The wind was easterly and we were steering to the westward; nor had we had a finer night, or a smoother sea, since our departure from Monterey: but this very smoothness of the weather was nearly fatal to us. About half past one in the morning we perceived breakers at two cables' length a-head of our ship, but the sea being so smooth they scarcely made the least noise, and only broke at long intervals, and very slightly. The Astrolabe perceived them at the same time, being a little farther distant from them. We put our helm hard a-starboard both at the same moment, and stood to the S. S. E. and as we made head-way during this manœuvre, I think we cannot reckon our distance from these breakers above a cable's length. I then sounded, finding nine fathoms water over a rocky bottom, and soon after 10 fathoms, and then 12 fathoms; and a quarter of an hour afterwards we did not strike ground with a line of 60 fathoms. Thus did we escape the most imminent danger that navigators could

could encounter. It is a duty I owe to my crew to declare, that I never saw less disorder or confusion in similar circumstances. The smallest neglect in the performance of the manœuvres to be made, in order to get clear of the breakers, would have been inevitably fatal. We perceived the continuation of these breakers near an hour, when they ran out to the westward, and at three o'clock we lost sight of them. However, I continued standing to the S. E. till break of day, which was very fine and very clear; and we then saw no breakers, though we had only run five leagues since we had changed our course. I am persuaded, that had we not more particularly reconnoitred this rock, we should have left many doubts concerning its existence; but it was not sufficient to be certain of this, or to have escaped the danger; I was desirous no future navigator should be exposed to it. I therefore made the signal, at day-break, to put about, in order again to find it. We perceived it at eight in the morning, bearing N. N. W. when I crowded sail to near it, and soon perceived an islet or split rock, of 50 toises diameter at most, and 20 or 25 high. It was situated at the N. W. extremity of this shoal, whose S. E. point, on which we were so near being lost, extended above four leagues in that direction. Between the islet and the breakers towards the S. E. we saw three sand-banks, not more than four feet above the surface of the sea. They were separated from each other by a kind of greenish water, which appeared to be not above a fathom deep. Some rocks even with the water's edge, on which the sea broke violently, surrounded this shoal, as a ring of diamonds surrounds a medallion, and thus defended it from the fury of the sea. We sailed along it, at less than a league distance, to the eastward, to the southward, and to the westward. The north side alone remained unexplored, as we had only a bird's eye view of it from the mast-head. Thus, it is possible, it may be much more

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extensive than we imagined; but its length from S. E. to N. W. or from the extremity of the breakers, that had been nearly fatal to us, to the islet, is four leagues. The geographical position of this islet, which is the only apparent object, was determined by M. Dagelet to be  $23^{\circ} 45'$  N. lat. and  $188^{\circ} 10'$  W. long. It lies W. by N. from Necker Island, distant 23 leagues. It must not be forgotten that the easternmost point is four leagues nearer. I named this shoal *Basse des Frégates Françaises*, because it was very near being the termination of our voyage.

Having thus determined, with all the precision in our power, the geographical position of this shoal, I directed my course to the W. S. W. I observed that all the clouds seemed to collect in that quarter, and I flattered myself to find at last a land of some importance. A great swell which came from the W. N. W. led me to conclude there was no island to the northward, and I could scarcely persuade myself that Necker Island, and *the Shoal of the French frigates* did not belong to an archipelago, which might either be inhabited, or at least inhabitable. My conjectures, however, were not realized. The birds soon disappeared, and we lost every hope of meeting with any further object.

I did not alter the plan I had formed, of crossing the track of Captain Clerke in the 179th degree of E. long., and I reached that point on the 16th November. But, although above two degrees to the southward of the tropic, we did not meet with those trade winds, which in the Atlantic Ocean only suffer very slight and momentary variations. For a space of 800 leagues, as far as the Marianas, we followed the parallel of  $20^{\circ}$  with winds almost as variable, as those met with in June and July, upon the coasts of France. The N. W. winds, which made the sea rise, veered to the northward, and then to the N. E.; the weather becoming clear and very fine. They soon shifted

shifted to the E. and S. E. The sky was then watery and dull, and it rained very hard. Some hours after, when the same wind had shifted to the S. E., then to the W. and lastly, to the N. W. the horizon cleared up. This change continued two or three days, but it did not once happen that the wind came about from the S. E. to E. and to N. E.

I have entered into these particulars of the regularly variable winds at this season, and in this latitude, because they appear to contradict the theory of those, who explain the constancy, and the regularity of the winds between the tropics, by the rotatory motion of the earth. It is very extraordinary, that on the most immense sea of the globe, and in a space, where the reaction of the land can have no influence, we should find variable winds for near two months, and that they should be continually easterly only in the neighbourhood of the Marianas\*.

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\* If the cause of the trade winds is uncertain, the knowledge of their existence, and the period when they blow is not the less important and useful to navigators. But a certain rule cannot be laid down, till the South Sea has been repeatedly traversed in all seasons. The voyages, however, that have hitherto been made, prove that the easterly winds reign on the seas described by La Pérouse. A reference to the tables of the route in Cook's third voyage, will prove their constancy, during the months of March, April, &c. If Clerke changed his course sooner, he did not intend to do so, and it was not in consequence of the change of the winds, for as soon as they blew from the southward, he took advantage of them to run to the northward. Captain King thus expresses himself on the constancy of the winds. "During the continuance of the light winds, which prevailed almost constantly ever since our departure from the Sandwich Islands."—And in the following page, he says, "On the 6th of April, at noon, we lost the trade wind."

On comparing Dixon's journal with his table of the route, it appears that he left Atoui the 18th September, and arrived at Macao on the 18th November, having in 52 days of navigation, between the equator, and the 13th degree of N. lat. run 88 degrees of longitude, with only one day of south wind: all the rest of the time the wind continued easterly.

"Our Captain judged it more prudent to steer to the southward, till we were in about 13 deg. 30 min., and then bear away to the

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Though we only pursued one track upon this ocean, this is not a fact entirely insulated, for our run continued near two months.

I agree, however, that we ought not hence to conclude, that the zone comprehended between the northern tropic, and the 19th degree, is without the limits of the trade winds in the month of November and December. One single voyage is not sufficient to change received opinions, but we may assert, that the laws on which they are founded, are not so universal, as to admit of no exceptions, and consequently, that they may be explained by those, who think they have penetrated into the secrets of nature.

Even the theory of Halley concerning the variation of the magnetic needle, would have appeared totally undeserving of confidence, even in the eyes of its inventor, had that astronomer, so justly celebrated in so many various ways, departed from Monterey in  $124^{\circ}$  W. long., and crossed the great ocean as far as  $160^{\circ}$  E. long.: for he would then have perceived, that in a space of  $76^{\circ}$ , or more than 1500 leagues, there is a difference in the variation of only five degrees, and that consequently the navigator cannot draw any conclusion from it to determine or rectify his longitude. The method, however, by lunar observations, particularly when combined with that of the time-keepers, leaves so little to be done in this respect, that we made Assumption Island, one of the Marianas, with the greatest precision, in the supposition that the island of Tinian, of which Captain Wallis has given the place

“westward, as that track was most likely for a true trade, and it had  
“been found in Captain Cook’s last voyage, that in the latitude 20  
“and 21 deg. to leeward of these islands, the winds are at best but  
“light, and often variable.—*Dixon’s Voyage*, p. 281.

“From the 22d October to the 31st, we had little variety. A constant easterly trade wind caused a heavy swell, &c.—*idem*, p. 285.

Here then is an additional proof, that the trade winds reign between these parallels, during the months of September, October, and November.—*French Editor*.

according to his observations, lay nearly south of Assumption; a direction which all geographers, and navigators have agreed in assigning to the Ladrões or Marianas. We made these islands on the 14th December at two in the afternoon. I had shaped my course to pass between the island of Mira, and that of Deserta, and Garden Island, whose empty names occupy places on the chart, where no land ever existed; thus deceiving navigators, who will, perhaps, hereafter meet with them several degrees to the northward or southward\*. Assumption Island itself, which forms a part of this well known cluster, of which we have a history in several volumes, is placed in the Jesuits' chart (since copied by all other geographers) 30' too much to the northward. Its true place is  $19^{\circ} 45'$  N. lat., and  $143^{\circ} 15'$  E. long.

As we saw from our anchoring place Mangs bearing  $28^{\circ}$  west, distant about five leagues, we found that the three rocks of that name are also placed 30' too much to the northward; and it is almost certain the same error exists with regard to Uracas, the last of the Mariana Islands, of which the archipelago should only extend as far as  $20^{\circ} 20'$  N. lat. The Jesuits have pretty accurately appreciated their distances from each other, but they have made very bad astronomical observations in this respect. Nor have they been happier in fixing the size of Assumption Island, for which they had probably no other method than their reckoning. For though they describe it as six leagues in circumference, the angles of our survey reduce it to half that extent; its highest

\* I have already advanced in the notes on pages 24, 31, and 35, that we are not authorised, and that it would even be dangerous to expunge from our charts, every ancient discovery, for which some navigator may have sought in vain. An additional proof of this assertion is afforded by Captain Marshall, who returning from Botany Bay to Macao, in 1788, met with Garden Island, or Isla de los Jardines in  $21\frac{3}{4}$  deg. N. lat. and  $148\frac{1}{2}$  W. long. from the meridian of Paris.—*French Editor.*



point being about 200 toises above the level of the sea. It would be difficult for the most lively imagination to paint a more horrid place, though the most ordinary aspect after so long a run would have been delightful to us : but a perfect cone, whose surface, as far as 40 toises above the level of the sea was as black as coal, could only excite painful sensations, by chilling every flattering hope : for during many weeks past, we had anticipated the turtles and cocoa nuts, in which we hoped to luxuriate on one of the Mariana islands.

In fact we perceived some cocoa-nut trees, which occupy scarcely a fiftieth part of the circumference of this island, for a depth of 40 toises, and which were in a manner concealed and sheltered from the east wind. This was the only part of the island where it was possible to anchor, the depth of water being 30 fathoms over a bottom of black sand, which extends less than a quarter of a league. The *Astrolabe* had gained this anchoring place, I had also come to within pistol shot of her; but having drove half a cable's length, our anchor lost its hold, and we were obliged to weigh it again with 100 fathoms of cable out, and make two boards to get in with the land. This little accident gave me not much uneasiness, as I perceived the island did not merit a long stay. My boat was gone ashore under the command of M. Boutin, *lieutenant de vaisseau*, as well as that of the *Astrolabe*, in which M. de Langle went himself, together with Messrs. de la Martinière, Vaujuas, Prévost, and Father Receveur. I observed, by the help of my glass, that they had great difficulty in landing, as the sea broke every where; but they had taken advantage of a smooth interval, by leaping into the water up to their necks. I was fearful they would find still greater difficulty in re-embarking, as the surf might increase every moment. This was the only circumstance that could induce me to anchor there, for we were all now as anxious to depart, as we had

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been

been ardently desirous to arrive. I was therefore very happy to see our boats return at two o'clock, and the Astrolabe got under way. M. Boutin informed me the island was a thousand times more horrible than it appeared at a quarter of a league distance. The lava that had flowed from it has formed precipices and hollows, bordered with a few stunted cocoa-nut trees, very thinly scattered, and mixed with limes, and a small number of plants, among which it is almost impossible to go 100 toises in an hour. Fifteen or sixteen men were employed from nine in the morning till noon in bringing about 100 cocoanuts to the boats, though they had only to pick them under the trees; for they found the greatest difficulty in carrying them to the sea-side, notwithstanding the distance was very short. The lava which had issued from the crater, had covered the whole circumference as far as a border of about 40 toises towards the sea. The summit appeared in a manner vitrified, but resembling black glass of the colour of soot. We never perceived the termination of the summit, which was capped with clouds. Although we saw no smoke, the sulphureous smell, which extended half a league out to sea, led me to suspect it was not entirely extinguished, and that its last eruption was possibly not very ancient; for there appeared no trace of decomposition in the lava on the middle of the mountain.

Every thing showed that no human creature, nor even a quadruped, had ever been unfortunate enough to have this island for its home. We saw nothing but crabs of the largest kind, very dangerous during the night to the weary traveller who should resign himself to sleep. One of them was brought on board. It is probable this shell-fish has driven away from the island the sea-birds, who always lay on shore, and whose eggs they would devour. We only saw three or four noddies at the anchoring-place: but when we approached the Mangs, our ships were

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were surrounded with innumerable flights of birds. On Assumption Island M. de Langle killed one resembling a black-bird, and of the same colour, but it was not added to our collection, as it fell down a precipice. Our naturalists found, in the hollows of rocks, some very fine shells; and M. de la Martinière made an ample harvest of plants, bringing on board three or four species of the banana-tree, which I had never seen in any country. We did not perceive any other fish than a red ray, some small sharks, and a sea serpent, which might be three feet long, and three inches thick. The 100 cocoa-nuts, and the small quantity of specimens of natural history we had so rapidly snatched from the volcano, for such is the true description of the island, had exposed our boats and crews to considerable dangers. M. Boutin, obliged to throw himself into the sea, both to get on shore and to re-embark, received several wounds in his hands, having been necessitated to lean on the sharp rocks with which the island is skirted. M. de Langle also ran some risks, but these are unavoidable in landing in such small islands, and particularly those so circular in their form. The sea, which comes from to windward, glides along the shore, and forms, at every point, a surf which renders debarkation extremely dangerous.

Fortunately we had a sufficiency of water till our arrival in China; for it would have been difficult to take it in at Assumption Island, even should it afford any. Our adventurers perceived none, except in the hollows of some rocks, where it was preserved as in a bowl; nor did the most considerable of these contain more than six bottles.

At three o'clock, the *Astrolabe* having got under sail, we continued our course W. by N., ranging along the Mangs, which bore from us N. E. by N. distant three or four leagues. I was desirous of determining the position of Uracas, the northernmost of the Maria-

nas, but we must have sacrificed a night, and I was anxious to reach China, lest the European ships should be failed before our arrival. By them I ardently wished to send home to France, an account of our labours on the coast of America, as well as of our voyage to Macao; and, therefore, that we might not lose a moment, I stood on under a crowd of sail.

Both our ships were surrounded, during the night, with innumerable flights of birds, apparently inhabitants of the Mangs and Uracas, which are mere rocks. It is evident these birds do not go to a distance from them, but to leeward; for we scarcely saw any to the eastward of the Mariana, and they accompanied us 50 leagues to the westward. The greatest number of these were a species of man-of-war birds and noddies, with some gulls, terns, and tropical birds. We met with strong breezes in the channel that separates the Marianas from the Philippine Islands, a very heavy sea, and currents, that set us constantly to the southward: their drift may be estimated at half a knot an hour. My ship now made a little water for the first time since our departure from France, which I attributed to some of the oakum in the seams near the water line having rotted. Our caulkers, who, during this run, examined the ships sides, found several seams almost open, and they suspected those near the water to be in the same state. They had not been able to repair them at sea, but it was their first business on our arrival in the road of Macao.

On the 28th we saw the Bashee Islands,\* of which Admiral Byron has laid down the longitude, though inaccurately; that of Captain Wallis being nearer the truth. We passed at a league distance from the northernmost rocks. They ought, however, to be called *islets*, notwithstanding the authority of Dam-

\* The Bashee or Bachi Islands, were so named by William Dampier from an intoxicating liquor drunk there in great abundance.  
—*French Editor.*

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pier, for the smallest of them is half a league in circumference; and although it is not wooded, we saw many herbs on the east side of it. The east longitude of this islet was determined when bearing south of us, distant three miles; and according to a mean of above 60 sets of lunar observations, taken in the most favourable circumstances, was fixed at  $119^{\circ} 41'$ , and its latitude at  $21^{\circ} 9' 13''$  N. \*. M. Bernizet also delineated the relative situation of all these islands, and drew a plan of them, which was the result of above 200 bearings. I did not propose to put in there, the Bashee's having been already repeatedly visited, and there being nothing interesting to invite us.

Having therefore determined their position, I continued my course towards China, and on the first of January, 1787, I struck ground in 60 fathoms water. The next day we were surrounded by a great number of fishing-boats, which kept the sea in spite of bad weather, but could not divert their attention towards us for a moment, the nature of their fishery not permitting them to turn aside to come along side of a ship, while dragging along the ground nets of an extreme length, that could not be raised in two hours.

On the 2d of January we saw White-rock, and anchored at night to the northward of Ling-ting, and the next day in the road of Macao; after having passed a channel, † which, though very safe, I believe to be but little frequented. We took Chinese pilots on board within the island of Lamma.

\* I think it necessary to apprise navigators, that these pretended rocks are small islands, because that erroneous name led me into an error during several hours.

† Navigators who wish to know this channel, ought to procure Dalrymple's chart, published in the Neptune of Dapès. We left the great Léma, the islands of Ling-ting, Chichow, Laf-sam-mee, Long-shitow, and Chang-chow, to the southward; and to the northward only the island of Sockochow, and the great island of Lantao.

## C H A P. XIV.

ARRIVAL AT MACAO—STAY IN THE ROAD OF TYPA—  
POLITE RECEPTION OF THE GOVERNOR—DESCRIP-  
TION OF MACAO—ITS GOVERNMENT—POPULA-  
TION—AND RELATION WITH CHINA—DEPARTURE  
FROM MACAO—OUR LAND-FALL IN THE ISLAND OF  
LUCONIA—UNCERTAINTY OF THE SITUATION OF  
THE BANKS OF BULINAO, MANSILOQ, AND MARI-  
VELLE—WE ENTER THE BAY OF MANILLA BY  
THE SOUTH CHANNEL, HAVING TRIED THE NORTH  
IN VAIN—MARKS FOR WORKING INTO THE BAY  
OF MANILLA WITHOUT DANGER—ANCHORAGE AT  
CAVITA.

**T**HE Chinese, who had piloted us into Macao, refused to conduct us to the anchorage of Typa, showing the greatest anxiety to get away with their boats; and we have since learned, that had they been seen, the mandarin of Macao would have demanded of each of them half the money they received; a sort of contribution which is generally preceded by several sound bastinadoes. This nation, whose laws are so panegyrised in Europe, is perhaps the most miserable, the most oppressed, and the most arbitrarily governed people on the face of the earth; at least if we may judge of the Chinese government by the despotism of the mandarin of Macao.

The weather, being very cloudy, had not yet permitted us to distinguish the town; but it cleared up at noon, when it bore W. 1° S. distant about three leagues. I then sent a boat ashore, under the command of M. Boutin, to apprize the governor of our arrival, and to inform him we proposed making some stay in the harbour, in order to procure refreshments, and give repose to our ships' companies. Senhor Bernardo Alexis de Lemos, governor of Ma-

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cao, received that officer with the greatest politeness, and offered us every assistance in his power, sending immediately a Malay pilot on board to carry us to the anchorage of Typa. We got under sail the next day at day-break, and dropped anchor at eight in the morning, in three and a half fathoms water over a muddy bottom, the town of Macao, bearing N. E. distant five miles.

We anchored alongside a French ship armed *en flûte*, commanded by M. de Richery, *enseigne de vaisseau*. This ship came from Manilla, and was ordered by Messrs. d'Entrecasteaux and Coffigny to cruize off the eastern coasts to protect our trade. Thus, after an interval of 18 months, had we the pleasure of meeting, not only with our countrymen, but even our friends and acquaintance. M. de Richery had, the preceding evening, come on board with the Malay pilot, bringing us a considerable quantity of fruits, vegetables, fresh meat, and, in a word, every thing he imagined would be agreeable to us, after so long a voyage. Our healthy appearance seemed to surprize him, and he informed us of the political transactions of Europe, whose situation was precisely the same as at our departure from France; but all my enquiries at Macao, for some one who might have any packets for us were in vain. It was more than probable, no letters addressed to us had arrived in China, and we felt a painful alarm lest our families and friends had forgotten us. But unhappy circumstances render men unjust; and it was possible the letters, we so severely regretted, might have been sent on board the Company's ship that had lost her voyage. Her consort had arrived alone, and it appeared by the captain's information, that the greatest part of the funds and all the letters had been put on board the other ship. The misfortunes that had prevented the arrival of this ship, did not perhaps give so much pain to the stockholders themselves as we experienced

experienced at this disappointment; nor could we avoid remarking that of twenty-nine English ships, five Dutchmen, two Danes, a Swede, two Americans, and two French, the only one that lost her voyage was from our own country. As the English never entrust their ships but with thorough bred seamen, such an event to them is almost unheard of. Even when they arrive in the seas of China so late as to find the N. E. monsoon set in, they obstinately struggle with this opponent, and often get to the eastward of the Philippines, and then getting up to the northward in this sea, which is infinitely more extensive and less exposed to currents, they return south of the Bashee islands, stand in for Piedra Blanca, and, like us, pass to the northward of Great Lema. We ourselves witnessed the arrival of an English ship, which, after pursuing that track, anchored ten days after in the harbour of Macao, and immediately afterwards went up to Canton\*.

My first step, after mooring the ship, was to go on shore with M. de Langle, to thank the Governor for his polite reception of M. Boutin, and to ask his permission to have a station on shore for setting up an observatory, and to accommodate M. Dagelet, who was greatly fatigued with our last voyage, and M. Rollin our surgeon-major, who after preserving us from the scurvy, and all other disorders, by his attention and advice, would himself have sunk beneath the fatigues of this long run, had we arrived a week later.

Senhor de Lemos received us like countrymen. All we had asked was granted, with a politeness no language can describe. He offered us his house, and as he did not speak French, his wife, a young Portuguese from Lisbon, acted as interpreter. She communi-

\* D'Entrecasteaux performed a voyage from the Isle of France to China against the monsoons, crossing the seas by almost unknown tracks, and discovered several rocks not laid down in any chart.—*French Editor.*

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cated her husband's replies with a gracefulness, and an amiability peculiar to herself, and exceeding every thing a traveller might flatter himself with finding in the principal cities of Europe.

Dona Maria de Saldanha had married Senhor de Lemos at Goa twelve years before; and I arrived at that place soon after the nuptials, then commanding *La Seine*, a ship armed *en flûte*. She politely reminded me of that circumstance, of which, however, I had a very lively impression, kindly adding that I was an old acquaintance. Then calling her children, she said it was thus she always presented herself to her friends, their education being the object of all her care: that she was proud of being their mother, and that we must forgive that pride, as she wished to introduce herself with all her faults.

No part of the world, perhaps, could exhibit a more enchanting picture. The most beautiful children surrounding and embracing the most charming of mothers, whose goodness and sweetness diffused a general warmth of colouring over every thing around her.

We soon perceived that, added to her accomplishments and domestic virtues, she possessed a firmness of character, and an elevation of mind, in consequence of which Senhor de Lemos had, in many situations of delicacy with regard to the Chinese, been confirmed in his generous resolutions by his lady; both of them coinciding in opinion that they ought not, like their predecessors, to sacrifice the honour of their nation to any other object. The administration of Senhor de Lemos would have formed an epocha in that settlement, had the government at Goa been sufficiently enlightened to continue him longer in office than three years, and left him time to accustom the Chinese to a resistance, obliterated even from their memory for above a century.

An inhabitant of Macao being as much a stranger to  
China

China as if in Europe, in consequence of the extreme difficulty of penetrating into that empire, I shall not imitate those travellers who have spoken of it without knowing it, but shall confine myself to a description of the commercial relation between the Europeans and the Chinese, the extreme humiliation they experience, the feeble protection they receive from the Portuguese settlement on the coast of China, and, in short, the importance which the town of Macao might possess, in the hands of a nation that would conduct itself with justice, with firmness, and with dignity, against a government, perhaps, the most unjust, the most oppressive, and at the same time, the most cowardly that exists.

The Chinese carry on a trade with the Europeans amounting to 50 millions, two fifths of which are paid for in silver, and the rest in English woollen manufactures, Batavian or Malaytutenag, Surat and Bengal cotton, opium from Seringatam, sandal wood, and pepper from the Malabar coast. Some articles of luxury are also brought from Europe, as the largest plates of glass, Geneva watches, coral, and fine pearls: but these last scarcely deserve mention, as they can only be sold in very small quantities, and with little advantage. In exchange for all these riches, China only gives green and black tea, with some chests of raw silk for European manufactures: for I do not reckon the porcelain, brought home as ballast, or the silks, which produce scarcely any profit. Certainly no nation carries on so advantageous a trade with foreigners, imposes conditions so hard, or multiplies restraints and vexations in so many various ways. Not a cup of tea is drunk in Europe, which has not occasioned some humiliation to its purchasers, its shippers, and those who traverse half the globe to bring this leaf to our markets.

I cannot here refrain from relating, that two years ago, an English gunner being ordered by his Cap-  
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tain to fire a salute, killed a Chinese fisherman in a *sampane*, which lay imprudently in the range of his gun, and which the former could not perceive. The Santock, or Governor of Canton demanded the gunner to be delivered up, which was not complied with, till he promised no harm should be done to him, adding, that he was not so unjust as to punish an involuntary homicide. On this assurance the poor fellow was given up, and two hours after was hung. The honour of the nation required a prompt and exemplary vengeance, but merchantships had no means to enforce it, and the Captains, accustomed to act with precision, good faith, and moderation, in order not to compromise the property of their employers, could not engage in a generous resistance, which would have cost the Company a loss of 40 millions, by their ships returning empty. But they have doubtless denounced that injury, and flatter themselves with the prospect of obtaining satisfaction. I dare affirm, that all the persons employed by the different European companies, would joyfully unite in sacrificing a great part of their fortunes, to teach these base mandarins, that there are limits to their injustice, and that their enormities have exceeded the bounds of humanity to tolerate.

The Portuguese have more reason to complain of the Chinese than any other nation. Their respectable title to the possession of Macao is well known. The grant of the site of that city is a monument of the gratitude of the Emperor Camhy, granted to them as a reward for destroying the pirates, who from the islands in the vicinity of Canton, infested the seas and ravaged all the coasts of China. It is a vain declamation to attribute the loss of their privileges to their abuse of them. Their only crime is the feebleness of their government. The Chinese every day load them with new injuries, and every moment increase their pretensions; to which the Portuguese govern-

government never opposed the least resistance; and thus this station, from which a nation that possessed the least energy, might overaw the Emperor of China, is scarcely more than a mere Chinese village, where the Portuguese are tolerated, although possessing an incontestible right to command, and the means to make themselves respected, had they but a garrison of 2000 Europeans, with two frigates, a few *corvettes*, and a bomb-ketch.

Macao, which is situated at the mouth of the Tigris, has a road-head spacious enough to contain 60 gun ships at the entrance of Typa, and in its harbour, which is below the town, and communicates with the river up to the eastward, ships of seven or eight hundred tons, with half their lading. According to our observations it is in  $22^{\circ} 12' 40''$  N. lat. and  $111^{\circ} 19' 30''$  E. long.

The mouth of this harbour is defended by a fortress of two batteries, which must be kept within pistol-shot in entering. Three small forts, two of which are mounted with twelve guns, and the third with six, protect the south side of the town from every attempt of the Chinese. These fortifications, which are in the worst possible state, would be far from formidable to Europeans, but they may easily overawe all the maritime forces of the Chinese. A mountain also commands the coast, where a detachment of troops would hold out a very long siege. The Portuguese of Macao, more devout than warlike, have built a church on the ruins of a fort, which crowned this mountain, forming, at that time, an impregnable post.

The side next the land is defended by two fortresses, one of which is mounted with 40 guns, and capable of containing a garrison of 1000 men. It is provided with a cistern, two springs of running water, and casemates to lay up warlike ammunition and provisions. The other, which mounts 30 guns, cannot



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cannot receive above 300 men, and has a very abundant spring that never fails. These two citadels command the whole country. The Portuguese frontiers extend nearly a league from the town, and are bounded by a wall guarded by a mandarin and a few soldiers. This mandarin is the true governor of Macao, whom all the Chinese obey, though he is not allowed to sleep within these limits. But he may examine all the fortifications, inspect the custom-houses, &c. and on these occasions the Portuguese are obliged to give him a salute of five guns. But no European can make a single step on the Chinese territory beyond the wall, and the least imprudence of this kind would leave him at the mercy of the Chinese, who might either keep him in prison, or exact from him a heavy contribution. Some of the officers of our ships, however, exposed themselves to this risk, without this act of levity being followed by any unhappy consequences.

The whole population of Macao may be computed at 20,000, of whom 100 are Portuguese by birth, 2000 metis, or half Indians and half Portuguese, as many Caffre slaves, their domestics. The rest are Chinese, who employ themselves in commerce and different trades, by which they lay the Portuguese themselves under contribution to their industry. These last, although almost all mulattoes, would think themselves disgraced, if they supported their families by exercising any mechanic art, though their pride is not above continually soliciting charity, with importunity, from every one they pass.

The Viceroy of Goa nominates to all civil and military offices at Macao, and appoints the Governor and all the Senators, who participate in the civil authority. He has lately fixed the garrison at 180 Indian seapoys, and 120 militia men, whose service consists in patrols at night. The soldiers are armed with sticks, and

and the officer alone has the privilege of wearing a sword; though he can on no occasion employ it against a Chinese. Even should a thief of that nation be found breaking the door of a house, and carrying away his goods, he must arrest him with the greatest caution; and should the soldier, in defending himself against the thief, have the misfortune to kill him, he is delivered up to the Chinese governor, and hung in the market place, in the presence of the guard to which he belonged, of a Portuguese magistrate, and of two Chinese mandarines; who, after the execution, are saluted by the forts as they quit the city, in the same manner as they are on entering it. But if, on the other hand, a Chinese kills a Portuguese, he is only consigned to the judges of his own nation, who, after having plundered him, perform the other formalities of justice; but suffer him to escape, and turn a deaf ear to the remonstrances of this injured nation, which are never followed by any satisfaction.

The Portuguese, however, have of late made an effort of vigour, which will be engraved on tablets of brass in the fasti of the Senate. A seapoy having killed a Chinese, they shot him in presence of the mandarines, and refused to submit this affair to the decision of the Chinese tribunal.

The Senate of Macao is composed of the Governor, who is president, and three *vereadores*, who are the auditors of the city finances. The revenue consists of the duties laid on merchandize, which can only be imported in Portuguese vessels. They are so unenlightened, that they would not permit a ship of any other nation to land their cargo, even on paying these established duties, as if they feared to encrease the revenue of their own treasury, or diminish that of the Chinese at Canton.

It is certain that were Macao made a free port, and had that city a garrison capable of defending commercial

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mercial property, when deposited there, the revenue of their custom-house would be-doubled, and would, doubtless, be adequate to all the expences of the government. But a trifling interest opposes this regulation which sound policy so clearly dictates. The Viceroy of Goa sells Portuguese commissions to the merchants of the various nations who carry on a coasting trade in the East Indies; and these same ship owners make presents to the Senate of Macao, according to the importance of their voyage; a commercial motive which would be an invincible obstacle to the establishment of a free trade, though Macao would be thereby rendered one of the most flourishing cities of Asia, and inconceivably superior to Goa, whose utility to its mother country will never be considerable.

Next in rank to the three *vexedores* already mentioned are two Judges of Orphans, whose department includes the administration of the property of minors, the execution of wills, the nomination of tutors and guardians, and, in general, every thing relative to successions. From their decision lies an appeal to that of Goa.

Other civil or criminal causes are also cognizable, in the first instance, by two senators, who are nominated as judges. A treasurer receives the produce of the customs, and pays, under the orders of the Senate, the salaries and disbursements, which, however, when exceeding 3000 piastras, must be sanctioned by an order of the Viceroy of Goa.

The most important magistracy is that of the Procurator of the city, which is an intermediate office between the Portuguese government and that of China. He gives answers to all foreigners who may winter at Macao, and receives and transmits to their respective governments the mutual complaints of the two nations, of which a Secretary, who has no deliberative voice, keeps a register, as also of all the de-

liberations of the council. This is the only office for life, that of the Governor being triennial, and the other magistrates replaced every year. So frequent a change, which is inimical to every regular system, has contributed not a little to the annihilation of the ancient rights of the Portuguese, and doubtless can only be continued, because the Viceroy of Goa finds his advantage in having many places to give away or fill; a conjecture authorized by the general manners and customs of Asia.

An appeal lies to Goa from all the decisions of the senate, and is rendered extremely necessary by the known incapacity of the Senators. The colleagues of the Governor, who is himself a man of great merit, are Portuguese of Macao, and are extremely haughty and conceited, though more ignorant than a country schoolmaster.

The appearance of this city is extremely pleasant. Among the remains of its ancient opulence are several fine houses occupied by the supercargoes of the different companies, who are obliged to pass the winter there; the Chinese compelling them to quit Canton as soon as the last ship of their nation has sailed, and not permitting them to return till the arrival of ships from Europe in the following monsoons.

Macao is rendered a very agreeable winter residence by the different supercargoes, who are generally men of distinguished merit, extremely well informed, and have salaries that enable them to keep an excellent house. The object of our mission procured us the politest reception from them, for we should have been quit forlorn, had we come with no other title than that of Frenchmen, our East India company as yet having no representative at Macao.

We owe a public testimony of gratitude to M. Elstockenström, the principal agent of the Swedish East India company, whose behaviour towards us was that of an old friend and fellow-countryman, who warmly

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warmly espoused the interests of our nation. He was even desirous at our departure to take upon himself the sale of our furs, the produce of which was to be divided among our crews, and he very kindly promised to remit the amount to the Isle of France.

The value of these furs did not now exceed one tenth of the price, when Captains Gore and King arrived at Canton, because the English had this year fitted out six expeditions to the N. W. coast of America ; two ships in that trade having sailed from Bombay, two from Bengal, and two from Madras. The two last alone had returned, and brought but a small quantity of skins. But the report of this equipment had spread at China, and they only obtained 12 or 15 piaſtres for the same quality as in 1780 would have produced 100.

We had 1000 skins which a Portuguese merchant had agreed to purchase for 9500 piaſtres ; but at the time of our departure for Manilla, when he was to have paid the money, he hesitated to receive them under various frivolous pretexts. As this bargain had deprived us of every other buyer, who were all returned to Canton, he hoped, no doubt, that in this difficulty we should accede to any price he might chuse to give ; and we had even reason to suspect, that he sent some Chinese merchants to us, who offered a much smaller sum. But, though unaccustomed to these manœuvres, they were too clumsily contrived not to be seen through, and therefore we positively refused to sell them.

There now remained no other difficulty than that of landing our furs, and depositing them at Macao as an enterpôt. The Senate, to whom our consul M. Vaillard applied, refused the permission he solicited : but the Governor being informed they were the property of sailors employed in an expedition, whose utility extended to all the maritime nations of Europe, thought it his duty to fulfil the views of the Portu-

guese government, by departing from the prescribed forms, and acted on this, as on all other occasions, with his accustomed delicacy\*.

It is unnecessary to observe, that the Mandarin of Macao made no demand for our stay in the road of Typa, which, together with the other islands, forms no part of the Portuguese territories. His claim, had he made any, would have been rejected with contempt; but we learned, that he demanded 1000 piastres from the *comprador*, who supplied us with provisions. That sum, however, was but a trifle, when compared with the impositions of this *comprador*†, whose account, for the five or six first days, amounted

\* Having seized every opportunity impartially to prove the credit due to Dixon, I doubt not the perusal of La Pérouse's voyage will occasion that Captain some concern, for having accused our navigators of imposture or of mercantile views. Justice demands that I should repel this calumnious imputation. I shall quote the passage from Dixon's voyage, page 320.

"The L'Astrolabe and Bouffale, two French ships, commanded by M. Peyrouse and de Langle, sailed from France in 1785; they are said to have traced the N. W. coast of America, from the Spanish settlements of Monterey to 60 deg. of N. lat.; but this seems rather improbable; for though these vessels were professedly fitted out on discovery, yet the commanders did not forget that furs were a valuable article, and, accordingly, whilst on the American coast, they procured about 600 sea-otter skins, chiefly in pieces of a very inferior quality, and evidently the same as those imported by the Spaniards; whereas, had these gentlemen been well in with the coast to the northward, they undoubtedly must have met with sea-otter skins of a quality far superior to what they procured."

After observing that La Pérouse trafficked for otter skins, merely in conformity to his orders in Art. ix. of the second part of his instructions, and in order to be furnished with facts in this branch of commerce, on which to found his report, and that he only disposed of them for the benefit of the sailors, I shall remark, in contradiction to Dixon's assertion, that this purchase took place at *Port des Français*, in 58 deg. 37 min. N. lat. and therefore La Pérouse was right in asserting that there could not be ten per cent. difference between the skins procured at *Port des Français* and those of Monterey.—*French Editor*.

† "Every vessel was supplied with whatever provisions they  
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amounted to more than 300 piaftres; after which, being convinced of his knavery, we difcharged him. Our commiffary's clerk afterwards went daily to the market, as in any town of Europe, to make the neceffary purchafes, and then the expence of a whole month did not equal that of the firft week.

Probably our œconomy difpleafed the Mandarin: but this was mere conjecture, for we had no communication with him. The Chinefe custom-houfes have no tranfactions with Europeans, except concerning the articles of traffic, which come from the interior of China in boats of that country, or are embarked in the fame boats to be fold in the interior of the empire. But what we purchafed at Macao to be brought on board in our own boats, was not liable to any fearch.

The climate of the road of Typa is at this feafon very changeable, the thermometer varying eight degrees from one day to another, and almoft all of us had fevere colds attended with fever. Thefe, however, yielded to the fine temperature of the ifland of Luconia, which we made on the 15th of February. We left Macao on the 5th, at eight in the morning, with a north wind, that would have enabled us to pafs between the iflands, had I had a pilot. But wifhing to avoid that expence, which is confiderable, I followed the ufual track, and went to the fouthward of the great Ladrone, having taken on board each

“ wanted, by an officer called a *comprador*, who always demanded  
“ a *cumshaw* or gratuity of 300 dollars, exclusive of the profit  
“ which would accrue to him from ferving us with provifions.

“ A demand of this nature appeared fo very exorbitant, that we  
“ determined, if poffible, to avoid it; and a Captain Tasker,  
“ from Bombay, whose vefsel lay near ours, kindly offered to furnish us with beef for the prefent. This, however, could not be  
“ done without caution; for we had a *hoppe*, or custom-houfe  
“ boat on each fide of the vefsel, with officers on board, who  
“ made it a point to prevent any beef coming on board, unlefs  
“ furnished by a *comprador*.” *Dixon's Voyage*, p. 292.—*French Editor*.

ship fix Chinese sailors, to replace those we had unfortunately lost when our boats were wrecked.

This nation is so wretched, that, notwithstanding the laws of the empire prohibit quitting the country, we could easily have engaged 200 men in a week, had we been in need of them.

At Macao our observatory had been set up in the convent of Augustins, where we determined the longitude of that city to be  $111^{\circ} 19' 30''$  E. by the mean of several sets of lunar observations. We had also verified the rate of our time-keepers, and found that the daily loss on mean time of No. 19, was  $12' 36''$ , which exceeded any deviation we had experienced previous to that period. It must, however, be observed, that during 24 hours the winding up this time-keeper had been forgotten, and that having thus been stopped, the want of continuity in its motion had probably caused its derangement. But on the supposition, that till our arrival at Macao, and previous to the neglect, of which we acknowledge we were guilty, the loss of time by No. 19 was the same as that determined at la Conception, this time-keeper would have given  $113^{\circ} 33' 33''$  as the longitude of Macao, that is  $2^{\circ} 14' 3''$  more than it really is, according to our lunar observations. Thus the error of the time-keeper, after ten months navigation, would only have been 45 leagues.

The northerly winds now permitted me to get to the eastward, and I should have got sight of Piedra Blanca, had they not presently shifted to the E. S. E. The information I had procured at Macao, concerning the best track to pursue as far as Manilla, had not determined my opinion, whether it was better to go to the northward or southward of Banco de Pratas, and I concluded, from the diversity of opinions on that point, th t one route was as good as the other. The easterly winds blowing strong, determined me to stand close-hauled upon the starboard tack, and to

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direct my course to leeward of that bank, which is erroneously laid down on all the charts previous to the third voyage of Captain Cook. Captain King, having determined its latitude with precision, has rendered an important service to the navigators who go coasting voyages from Macao to Manilla. Formerly they followed, with confidence, the chart of Dalrymple, which M. Daprès has also copied. These two authors, who are so estimable and accurate when they constructed plans from their own materials, were not always able to procure the best accounts of individual places, and the situation of the Prata shoal, that of the western coast of the island of Luconia, and of the bay of Manilla, are totally undeserving of confidence. As I was desirous to make the island of Luconia, in lat.  $17^{\circ}$ , in order to pass to the northward of the bank of Bulinao, I ranged along the Pratas as near as possible, and even, at midnight, passed over the point it occupies on the chart of M. Daprès, who has extended this dangerous shoal 25 miles too far to the southward. The position he has assigned to the banks of Bulinao, Mansiloq, and Mirabella, are not more exact. An ancient custom has taught seamen they have nothing to fear in making their land fall to the northward of  $17^{\circ}$ , and this observation has appeared sufficient to the governors of Manilla, who have not, during two centuries, found a single moment's leisure to send out a few small ships to reconnoitre these dangers, or even to determine their latitude, together with their distance from Luconia, which we made on the 15th February, in  $18^{\circ} 14'$ . We flattered ourselves we should then only have to run down the coast with north easterly winds as far as the entrance of the bay of Manilla; but the monsoons did not extend along the land, where the wind was variable between N. W. and S. W. for many days. The currents also set to the northward at the rate of a mile an hour, and till the 19th

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February, we did not advance one league a day. At length the north wind freshening, we sailed along the Illoco coast, at the distance of two leagues, and saw a small two masted vessel in the port of Santa Cruz, probably taking in a cargo of rice for China. It was impossible for us to make any of our bearings coincide with the chart of M. Daprès, but our own charts enable us to give the direction of this coast, which is very little known, though much frequented. We doubled cape Bulinao on the 20th, and on the 21st made point Capones, bearing east, directly in the wind's eye. We made several boards to approach it, and gain the anchoring place, which extends but a league from the shore. We saw two Spanish ships which seemed afraid to open the entrance of the bay of Manilla, from whence the easterly winds blow with violence, and therefore kept under the lee of the land. We stretched to the southward of the island of Mirabella, and the wind having chopped about in the afternoon to the E. S. E., we directed our course between this island and that of la Monha, entertaining hopes of entering the north channel. But after having made several boards in the entrance of it, which scarcely exceeds half a league in width, we perceived that the currents set to the westward with considerable strength, and irresistibly opposed our intention. We then determined to put into the port of Mirabella, which lay a league to leeward, in order there to wait either for a fairer wind, or a more favourable current. We anchored there in 18 fathoms water over a muddy bottom, the village bearing N. W. by W., and the Hogs (los Puercos) S. by E.  $33^{\circ}$  S. This port is only open to the S. W. winds, and there is such good holding ground, that I am of opinion, ships might ride there without the least danger, during the monsoons whenever they prevail.

As we wanted wood, which I knew to be extremely dear at Manilla, I determined to pass 24 hours at  
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Mirabella, to take in a quantity. The next morning at day-break, we sent our long boats ashore, with all the carpenters of both ships, and at the same time, I employed our jolly boats in sounding the bay, and reserved the rest of the crew with the barge, for a fishing party in the creek near the village, which appeared sandy and commodious for hauling the seine. But this was a mere illusion, and we found rocks there and such a flat bottom two cables' length from the shore, that it was impossible to fish there. We derived no advantage from our labour, except some thorny sea-pies in good preservation, which we added to our collection of shells. Towards noon I went ashore at the village, which consists of about 40 houses built of bamboo, covered with leaves, and raised about four feet above the ground. These houses are floored with small bamboos, laid at a distance from each other, so as to give these huts the appearance of bird cages. They are ascended by a ladder, and I do not believe all the materials of a house, including the roof, weigh 200 pounds.

Opposite to the principal street is a large edifice of hewn stone, but now almost entirely ruined, where, however, we saw two brass guns at the windows, which serve as embrasures. We learned that this ruin was the curate's house, the church, and the fort, though these names had not intimidated the Moors of the southernmost Philippine Islands, who in 1780 had seized it, burned the village, set fire to the fort, which they destroyed, as well as the church and the parsonage house, made slaves of all the Indians who had not time to fly, and went off with their captives without the least molestation. This event so terrified the colony, that they dare not now apply to any species of industry. Almost all the land is uncultivated, and this parish is so poor, that we could only purchase a dozen fowls and a small pig. The curate sold us a young ox, at the same time assuring us, it was an eighth

eighth part of the only herd in the parish, the lands of which are ploughed by buffaloes.

This priest was a young Indian mulatto, who careless of its condition, inhabited the ruin I have described, a few earthen pots and a truckle bed composing the whole of his furniture. He informed us, that his parish contained 200 persons, of both sexes and of all ages, who on the least alarm, take refuge in the woods to escape the Moors, who continue to make descents on the island, and are so audacious, and their enemies so little on their guard, that they often penetrate to the head of the bay of Manilla. During the short stay we afterwards made at Cavita, seven or eight Indians were carried off in their canoes, within a league of the entrance of the harbour. We were assured that passage boats from Cavita to Manilla were often taken by these same Moors, though the passage is nearly the same, in all respects, as that from Brest to Landerneau by sea. They perform these expeditions in very light row-boats, and the Spaniards oppose to them a flotilla of galleys, which are very bad sailers, and have never taken any of them.

The next officer to the curate is an Indian, who bears the pompous title of Alcalde, and enjoys the supreme distinction of carrying a silver headed cane. He appears to exercise a high authority over the Indians, none of whom could sell us a fowl, till he granted his permission, and fixed the price. He also possessed the fatal privilege of selling for account of the government, tobacco for smoaking, of which the Indians make a very great and almost continual consumption. This monopoly has only been established within a few years, and the poorest of the people can scarcely bear its oppression. It has already given birth to several revolts, and I should not be surprised, if it should one day produce effects similar to those of the taxes on tea and stamps in North America. We  
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saw at the priest's three small antelopes, which he intended for the Governor of Manilla, and which he refused to sell us. Nor, had we made the purchase, could we have hoped to preserve them, as these little animals are very delicate, and do not here exceed the size of a large rabbit. Both the male and female are precisely the stag and hind in miniature.

In the woods our sportsmen observed the most charming birds, variegated with the most brilliant colours: but these forests are impenetrable, on account of the *lianes*, which climb and interweave among the trees. Their excursion, therefore, was not very productive, as they could only shoot upon the skirts of the wood. We purchased in the village some *stabbed* turtle-doves; a name originating from a red mark upon their breast, exactly resembling a wound made by a knife.

At length we re-embarked at dusk, and made every preparation for getting under way the next day. One of the two Spanish ships we had seen on the 23d, at Point Capones, had like ourselves put into Mirabella, to wait for more moderate weather. I sent to the Captain to ask for a pilot, when he sent me his boat-swain, an old Indian, who did not inspire me with much confidence. I agreed, however, to give him 15 piastras to carry us to Cavita, and on the 25th at day-break we got under sail, and stood through the south channel, the old Indian assuring us it would be in vain to attempt that to the northward, where the currents always set to the westward. Though the distance from the harbour of Mirabella to that of Cavita is only seven leagues, we were three days making this little run, and came to an anchor every night in the bay, in a good bottom of mud. We had here an opportunity to observe that M. Daprès's plan is very inaccurate, the island of Fraile, and that of Cavallo, which form the entrance of the south channel, being badly laid down there, and in a word the whole is a  
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mere tissue of errors. But we should have done better, even to follow that guide, than our Indian pilot, who nearly run us aground on the bank of St. Nicholas. He persisted in standing on to the southward, notwithstanding my representations, and we shoaled our water in less than a minute from 17 to four fathoms. I immediately tacked, and I am convinced we should have touched, had we stood on a pistol shot farther. The water is so smooth in this bay, that there is not the least appearance of the shoals; a single observation, however, will render it perfectly easy to work into it: you must always keep the island of la Monha open with the north channel of the island of Mirabella, and put about as soon as this island begins to be shut in. At length on the 28th we anchored in the harbour of Cavita, in three fathoms water over a muddy bottom, two cables' length from the town.

Our run from Macao to Cavita was 23 days, and would have been much longer, had we conformed to the custom of the old Portuguese and Spanish navigators, and persisted in passing to the northward of the Prata shoal.









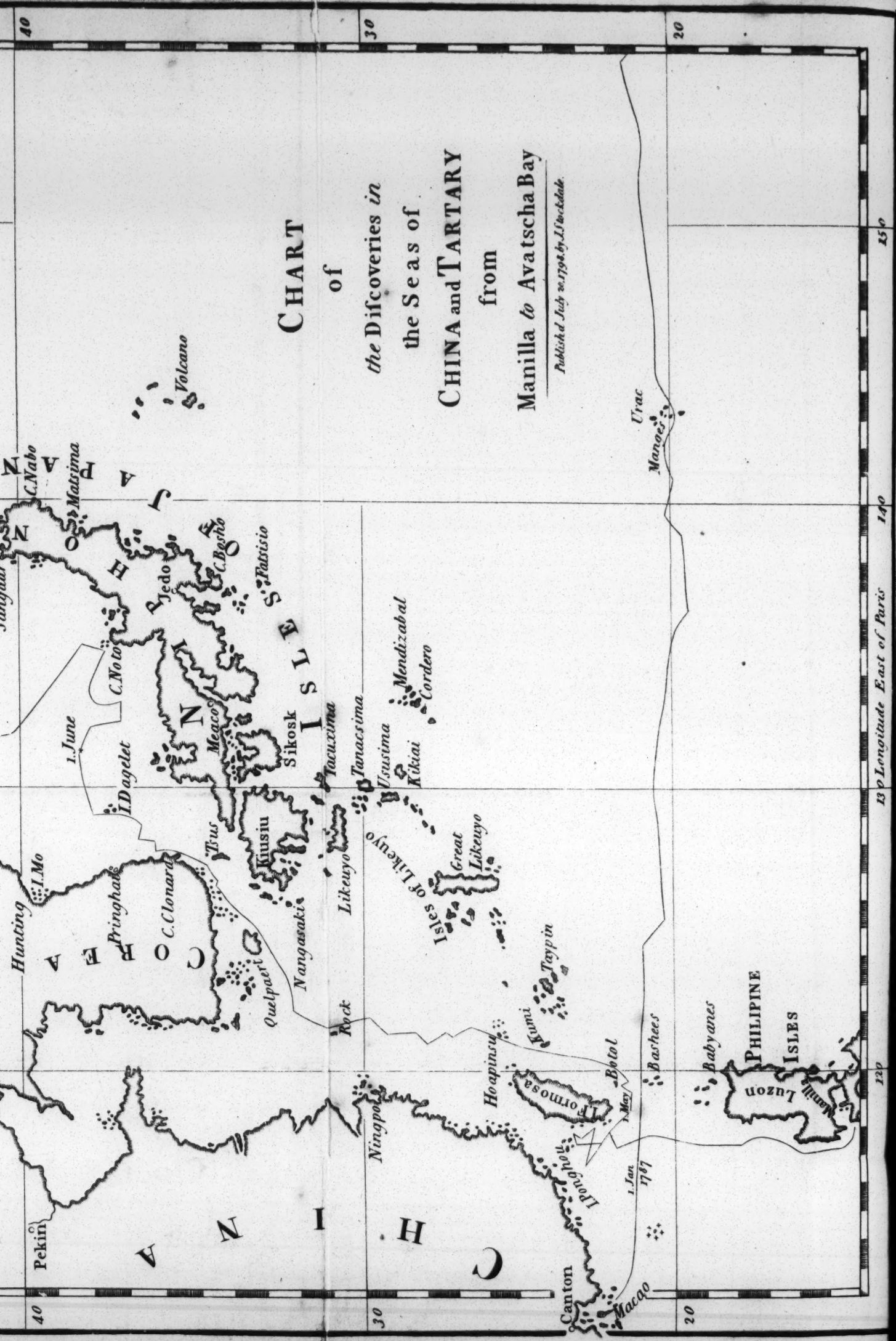


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Manilla to Avatscha Bay

Published July 22. 1792. by J. V. de la Harpe.

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## CHAP. XV.

ARRIVAL AT CAVITA—MANNER OF OUR RECEPTION BY THE COMMANDANT—M. BOUTIN, LIEUTENANT DE VAISSEAU, IS DISPATCHED TO THE GOVERNOR GENERAL AT MANILLA—RECEPTION OF THIS OFFICER—DETAILS RELATIVE TO CAVITA AND ITS ARSENAL—DESCRIPTION OF MANILLA AND ITS ENVIRONS—ITS POPULATION—DISADVANTAGES RESULTING FROM THE GOVERNMENT THERE ESTABLISHED—PENANCES, AT WHICH WE WERE PRESENT, DURING PASSION WEEK—IMPOSTS ON TOBACCO—INSTITUTION OF THE NEW PHILIPPINE COMPANY—REFLECTIONS ON THAT ESTABLISHMENT—DETAILS RELATIVE TO THE SOUTHERN-MOST PHILIPPINE ISLANDS—CONTINUAL WARS WITH THE MOORS, OR MAHOMETANS, OF THESE ISLANDS—STAY AT MANILLA—MILITARY STATE OF THE ISLAND OF LUCONIA.

WE had scarcely cast anchor at the entrance of the harbour of Cavita, when an officer came on board from the commandant of that place, to request us not to attempt any communication with the shore, till orders arrived from the governor-general, to whom he intended to dispatch a courier, as soon as he was informed of our object in putting in there. We answered, that we wished to procure provisions, and permission to refit our ships, in order, as speedily as possible, to continue our voyage; but before the officer left us, the commandant of the bay\* arrived at Manilla, whence they had descried our ships. He informed us notice had been received there of our ar-

\* The commandant of the bay is, in Spain, the chief of the custom-house officers, and has a military rank. At Manilla he has that of captain.

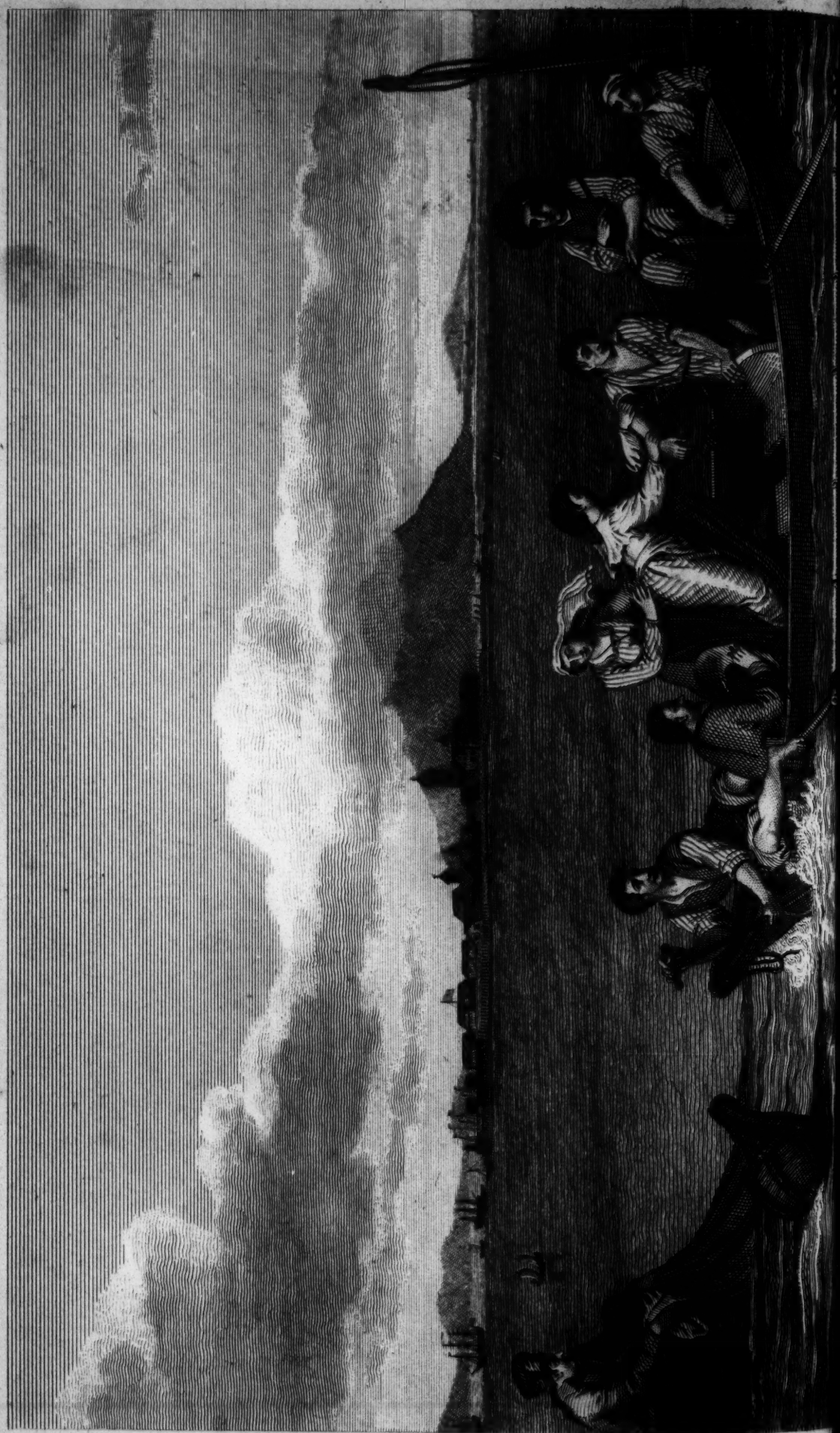
rival in the Chinese seas, and that letters from the Spanish minister had announced us to the governor-general several months before. This officer added, that the season admitted of our anchoring before Manilla, where we should meet with every accommodation, united with every resource, that could possibly be procured in the Philippine Islands: but we were lying at anchor before an arsenal, within a musket-shot of the shore, and we were so impolite as to acquaint this officer, that nothing could compensate these advantages. He readily permitted M. Boutin, one of my lieutenants, to go in his boat, to give an account of our arrival to the governor-general, and request him to give orders that our various wants might be supplied before the 5th of April, the ultimate plan of our voyage requiring that our two ships should sail the 10th of the same month. Senor Basco, *brigadier de la armada*, and governor-general of Manilla, gave the officer I sent to him a handsome reception, and issued the most positive orders that nothing should retard our departure.

He also wrote to the commandant of Cavita, to permit us to have free communication with that place, and procure us every assistance and accommodation in his power. The return of M. Boutin, charged with dispatches from Senor Basco, rendered us all citizens of Cavita, and our vessels were so near the shore that we could land and return on board every minute. We found various houses wherein to repair our sails, salt our provisions, build two boats, and accommodate our naturalists and geographical engineers; and the commandant very kindly lent us his own to set up our observatory. We felt as perfectly at our ease as if we had been in the country, and found in the market and the arsenal the same resources, as in the best ports of Europe.

Cavita, which lies three leagues to the S. W. of Manilla,



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Manilla, was formerly a very considerable place; but in the Philippine islands, as in Europe, the great towns exhaust, as it were, the small ones, and there now remain only the commandant of the arsenal, a *contador*, or accomptant, two port lieutenants, the commandant of the town, 150 soldiers in garrison, and the officers belonging to that corps.

All the other inhabitants are metis\*, (a species of mulattoes), or Indians, belonging to the arsenals; and form together, with their families, which are generally very numerous, a population of about 4000 inhabitants, divided between the town and the suburb of St. Roch. There are two parishes, and three monasteries for men, each occupied by two ecclesiastics, though thirty might easily be accommodated. The Jesuits also had formerly a very fine house, of which the trading company, established by the government, has obtained possession. In general, nothing is to be seen but ruins; the ancient edifices of stone are deserted or occupied by Indians, who never repair them; and Cavita, the second town in the Philippine Islands, and capital of a province of the same name, is now only a paltry village, uninhabited by Spaniards, except the military officers, and those of the civil administration. But if the town presents only a heap of ruins, it is not so with the port, where Senor Bermudas, *brigadier de la armada*, who is commander there, has established an order and discipline, which excite regret that his talents are employed on so confined a theatre. All his workmen are Indians, and he has precisely the same kind of workshops as those of our arsenals in Europe. This officer, who is of the same military rank as the governor-general, considers nothing too trifling for his

\* The Spaniards and Portuguese have different names for the various degrees of consanguinity with blacks. The first of these is the *meti*, which implies the half black, or immediate offspring of a white man with a black woman.—*Translator's note.*

attention;

attention; and his conversation convinced us, that nothing was above the sphere of his knowledge. He granted every thing we asked of him with the most perfect politeness. The smiths, block makers, and riggers, were at work several days for our ships. Senor Bermudas anticipated our wishes; and his friendship was the more flattering, as we judged from his character, that he did not easily bestow it: and this austerity of his principles had perhaps been injurious to his military advancement. As we could not hope to meet with a more commodious port elsewhere, M. de Langle and myself determined completely to overhaul all our rigging, and to strip our lower masts. This precaution involved no loss of time, as we were obliged to wait at least a month for our provisions, a list of which we had transmitted to the intendant of Manilla.

The second day after our arrival at Cavita, I embarked, together with M. de Langle, for the capital, accompanied by several officers. We were two hours and a half in making this trip in our boats, which were armed with soldiers, on account of the Moors, who frequently infest the bay of Manilla. Our first visit was to the governor, who kept us to dinner, and sent the captain of his guards to conduct us to the archbishop, the intendant, and the different *oidors*. This was not one of the least fatiguing days of our voyage. The heat was extreme, and we were on foot, in a town where the citizens never go out but in a carriage. Here there were none to be hired as at Batavia; and had not M. Sebir, a French merchant, who had by accident heard of our arrival at Manilla, sent us his chariot, we should have been obliged to decline many of the visits we intended to make.

The town of Manilla, including the suburbs, is very considerable. Its population is computed at 38,000, in which are included scarcely 1000 or





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1200 Spaniards; the rest are Metis, Indians, or Chinese, who cultivate all the arts, and pursue every species of industry. The least opulent of the Spanish families keep one or two carriages, or more, and a pair of very fine horses, which cost thirty piastras, and their keep and coachman's wages six piastras a month. Thus in no country is the expence of a carriage more trifling or more necessary. The environs of Manilla are enchanting. The most beautiful river meanders through them, branching into various channels, of which the two principal end in that celebrated lagoon or lake of Bahia, which lies seven leagues up the country, and is bordered by above a hundred Indian villages, situated in the midst of the most fertile country.

Manilla is built on the shore of the bay of the same name, which is more than twenty-five leagues in circumference. It lies at the mouth of a river navigable as far as the lake from which it rises, and is perhaps the most delightfully situated city in the world. Provisions of all kinds are in the greatest abundance there, and extremely cheap; but cloathing, European hardware and furniture bear an excessively high price. The want of competition, together with prohibitions and restraints of every kind laid on commerce, render the productions and merchandize of India and China, at least, as dear as in Europe; and this colony, although the various imposts bring near 800,000 piastras annually into the treasury, costs Spain 1,500,000 livres besides, which are sent there every year from Mexico. The immense possessions of the Spaniards in America have not admitted of the government essentially directing its attention to the Philippines, which resemble the estates of those great lords, whose lands lie uncultivated, though capable of making the fortunes of many families.

I should not hesitate to assert, that a very great  
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nation, possessed of no other colony than the Philippine Islands, and who should establish the best government of which they are capable, might behold all the European settlements in Africa and America without envy.

Three millions of inhabitants people these various islands, of whom that of Luconia contains near one third. These people appear in no respect inferior to those of Europe. They cultivate the earth like men of understanding, are carpenters, joiners, smiths, goldsmiths, weavers, masons, &c. I have walked through their villages, and found them kind, hospitable, and communicative; and though the Spaniards speak of and treat them with contempt, I perceived that the vices they attributed to the Indians, ought rather to be imputed to the government they have themselves established. It is well known, that the avidity for gold, and the spirit of conquest, with which both the Spaniards and Portuguese were animated two centuries ago, induced adventurers of those nations to traverse the different seas and islands of both hemispheres, with no other view than to search for that precious metal.

Some gold sanded rivers, and the vicinity of the spice islands, were no doubt the motives of the first settlements in the Philippines; but their produce did not correspond with the hopes that were entertained. To these avaricious motives succeeded the enthusiasm of religion. A great number of missionaries, of every order of Monks, were sent there to preach Christianity, and the harvest was so abundant, that these islands soon contained eight or nine hundred Christians. Had this zeal been tempered by a little philosophy, that system was doubtless best adapted to secure the conquests of the Spaniards, and render this settlement useful to the mother country. But their only object was to make Christians, not citizens. The colony was then divided into parishes. and



and subjected to the most frivolous and extravagant ceremonies. Every fault, every pretended sin, was punished by a whipping, the absence from prayer and from mass were taxed, and the punishment inflicted both on men and women at the church door, by order of the curate. Their holidays, their religious confraternities, their private devotions, consume a very considerable portion of time; and as in hot climates the imagination takes a still loftier flight than in more temperate regions, I have, in passion week, beheld penitents in masks, dragging chains through the streets, with their legs and loins surrounded with a girdle of thorns; and in this condition, receive at every *station*, before the church door, or before the oratories, several strokes of the whip, in the way of discipline, and in a word, submit to equally rigorous penances with the faquirs of India. These practices, more calculated to form enthusiasts than to inspire true devotion, are now prohibited by the Archbishop of Manilla; but it is highly probable, some confessors still recommend, if not enjoin them.

This monastic discipline not only enervates the mind of these people, naturally inactive through the influence of the climate, and the small number of their wants, but persuading them that life is but a journey, and the good things of it unprofitable, combines with the impossibility of selling the fruits of the earth for a price that would compensate their labour, to paralyse their industry. Thus, as soon as the inhabitants have the quantity of rice, of sugar, and of vegetables, necessary for their subsistence, the superflux is of no value whatever. In such circumstances sugar has been sold for less than a half-penny the pound, and rice remained upon the ground without being reaped. It would be difficult for the most unenlightened society to form a system of government more absurd, than that which has regulated these colonies for the two last centuries.

The port of Manilla, which ought to be free and open to all nations, has been, till very lately, shut against Europeans, and open only to a few Moors, Americans, and the Portuguese of Goa. The governor is invested with the most despotic authority: and the *Audiencia*, which ought to moderate his power, is totally impotent before the representative of the Spanish government. In point of fact, though not by law, it lies in his breast to admit or to confiscate the merchandize of foreigners, whom the hope of advantage may have brought to Manilla, and who would not expose themselves to this risk, but on the probability of a very great profit, ultimately ruinous to the consumers. No liberty whatever is enjoyed there. Inquisitors and Monks direct the consciences of the people, the *oidors* overlook all the affairs of individuals, and the governor regulates the most innocent amusements: even an excursion up the country, or a *conversazione*, are within his jurisdiction. In a word, the finest and most charming country in the world, is certainly the last a lover of liberty would chuse for his residence. I saw at Manilla, that worthy, that virtuous governor of the Marianas, Senor Tobias, rendered too famous for his own repose by the Abbé Raynal. I have seen him persecuted by the Monks, who, by representing him as impious, even alienated the affections of his wife, and induced her to demand a separation from him, that she might not live with this pretended reprobate; while every fanatic applauded her conduct. Senor Tobias is lieutenant-colonel of the regiment that forms the garrison of Manilla; and is acknowledged to be the best officer in the country. Yet the governor has decreed that his salary, which is very considerable, should be paid to his pious wife, leaving him only 26 piastres per month, for the subsistence of himself and his son. This brave officer, thus reduced to despair, was waiting for a proper opportunity



tunity to escape from this colony, in order to demand justice. There is a very wise, but unfortunately an ineffectual law, which ought to have moderated this inordinate power, and by which every citizen is permitted to prosecute the ex-governor before his successor. The latter is, however, interested in justifying every thing his predecessor is reproached with; and the citizen who is imprudent enough to complain, is exposed to new and encreased injustice.

The most galling distinctions are established, and supported with the strictest severity. The number of horses used in carriages is fixed for every rank, and coachmen are bound to give precedence to the superior number; so that the mere caprice of an *oidor* may detain behind him a whole line of carriages, that have the misfortune of travelling the same road. So many abuses in this government, so many vexations that result from it, have not however totally destroyed the advantages of the climate, and the peasantry display an air of happiness not to be found in the villages of Europe. Their houses are admirably neat, and shaded by fruit trees, which grow spontaneously. The tax paid by each master of a small house, is very moderate, being limited to 5½ reals, including the church dues, which is received by the nation; all the bishops, canons, and curates, being paid by the government. But they have established some perquisites, which compensate the smallness of their stipends.

A dreadful oppression has, however, of late years taken place, and threatens to destroy the little enjoyment allowed them. I mean the tax upon tobacco. Their passion for smoking this narcotic is so immoderate, that there is not a moment in the day when either men or women have not a *segar*\* in their mouth, and children scarcely out of

\* A *segar* (or *cigarro*) is a leaf of tobacco, rolled up, and smoked in lieu of a pipe.—*French Editor.*

their cradle contract the same habit. The tobacco of the Island of Luconia is the best in Asia. Every inhabitant cultivated it round his house for his own consumption, and the small number of foreign ships that had permission to land at Manilla carried it to every part of India.

A prohibitory law however has lately been promulgated, and the tobacco of each individual has been pulled up, and the cultivation of it limited to grounds where it is grown for the benefit of the government. The price has been fixed at half a piastre per pound, and though the consumption is diminished, the daily pay of a workman is inadequate to procure tobacco for himself and his family. All the inhabitants agree, that a tax of two piastres, added to the capitation tax of those who are liable to it, would have produced to the revenue a sum equal to that of the sale of tobacco, without giving birth to the disorders the latter has produced. Insurrections have threatened every corner of the island, troops have been employed to suppress them, and an army of custom-house clerks and officers employed to prevent smuggling, and to compel the consumers to apply to the national warehouses. Several of these have been massacred, though speedy vengeance was inflicted by the tribunals, who pass judgment on the Indians with much fewer formalities than on the other citizens. There still remains however a leaven of revolt, in which the least fermentation might produce a formidable activity, and it is not to be doubted that an enemy who might entertain projects of conquest would find an army of Indians ready to join their standard the moment they set foot on the island, and furnish them with arms\*. The picture that might be drawn of the

\* The Philippines, from their extent, their climate, and the quality of their soil, possess every means of producing all the colonial commodities. They are furnished with the precious metals, and their



the state of Manilla a few years hence would be very different from its present condition, were the government of Spain to adopt a better constitution for the Philippine Islands. The soil is adequate to the most valuable production, 900,000 individuals of both sexes, who inhabit the island of Luconia, might be encouraged to cultivate it, and the climate admits of ten crops of silk within the year, while that of China scarcely affords a prospect of two.

their situation is most advantageous for trading with India and China. An European nation, if established there on a solid foundation, and possessing a port for an entrepôt and refreshment on the coasts of Africa, of Madagascar, or in the neighbouring seas, might abandon their possessions in America without the smallest reluctance. This important property appears however not to be justly appreciated by the Spanish government. Their apparent indifference arises from the difficulty of supporting the immense weight of their possessions in the two hemispheres, and the impossibility of their giving to all of them the species of activity calculated to draw from them all the aid the mother country would have a right to expect.

The Philippines therefore are not only extremely likely to be coveted by the other maritime powers of Europe, but if the enemies of Spain do not take advantage of the weak state in which they languish, they will one day become a prey to the Moors.

When the metallic riches and vegetable productions of the South Sea Islands are better known, when new tracks, opened to commerce and navigation shall admit of a safe and speedy communication to the very centre of this sea, the importance of the Philippines will be perceived. The Spaniards, who already have a settlement in the Bashee Islands, will soon have another on the Sandwich Islands, although lying somewhat to the northward of the track of the galleons; and their possessions, if suffered to encrease, will form a kind of chain embracing the whole earth. The Russians will then discover all the advantages they may derive from the commerce of the South Sea, and all their maritime views will be directed to the ports of Kamtschatka.

This state of things however will only continue till the energy of the nations who people that part of the globe shall set bounds to this impolitic extension of territory; till the moment when they shall resume their natural rights, by driving out all the Europeans, in order to carry on a free trade with every nation. But that period is still very distant, and before it arrives the Spaniards, as Raynal has predicted, weakened by possessions, too numerous to be effectually protected, will be successively driven from their multiplied settlements by some more powerful nation.—*French Editor.*

Cotton, indigo, the sugar-cane, and coffee, grow without cultivation around the footsteps of the inhabitants, who despise them, and every thing indicates that even spices would not be inferior to those of the Moluccas. A perfectly free trade for all nations would ensure a market that would encourage every species of cultivation, and a moderate duty on all the exports would in a very few years be adequate to all the expences of the government. Religious toleration granted to the Chinese, together with some other privileges, would presently draw 100,000 inhabitants from the eastern provinces of that empire, driven away by the tyranny of their mandarines. If to these advantages the Spaniards added the conquest of Macao, their settlements in Asia, and the advantages they would derive from them, would undoubtedly exceed those of the Dutch in the Moluccas and at Java. The establishment of the new Philippine company seems to indicate, that the attention of the government is at length directed towards this part of the world, and they have adopted, though only in part, the system of Cardinal Alberoni. That minister perceived that Spain, having no manufactures, it would be more politic to enrich the nations of Asia with her metals than those of Europe, who were her rivals, and whose commerce she nourished while she augmented their strength, by consuming the objects of their industry. He was therefore of opinion, that Manilla ought to be an open mart for all nations, and was desirous to invite the ship-owners of the various provinces of Spain to go and load at this market with the cotton or other manufactures of China and the Indies, that were necessary for the consumption of the colonies and of the metropolis.

Cardinal Alberoni however is well known to have possessed more genius than science; and though he was pretty thoroughly acquainted with Europe, he had not the smallest idea of the affairs of Asia. The  
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objects of the greatest consumption, both for Spain and her colonies, are those of the Coromandel coast and of Bengal; which it is certainly as easy to carry to Cadiz as to Manilla, the latter being situated at a great distance from that coast, and its seas subject to monsoons, which expose navigators to losses and considerable delays. Thus the difference in price between Manilla and India must be at least 50 per cent: and if to this price are added the immense expences of outfits in Spain for so long a voyage, it will be evident that the produce of India, which comes by the way of Manilla, must be sold at very high prices in the part of Europe under the Spanish dominion, still dearer in their American colonies, and that the nations, who, like England, Holland and France carry on this trade directly, will always be able to smuggle them in there with the greatest advantage. It is however on this defective system that the foundation of the new company has been laid, and, which is still worse, accompanied by restrictions and imposts rendering it far inferior to the project of the Italian minister—such in short, that it appears impossible for this company to subsist four years more, although its privileges have in a manner swallowed up the whole commerce of the nation with her American colonies. The pretended fair of Manilla, where the new Company is obliged to provide itself with cargoes, is only open to the Indian nations, as if they were afraid to augment the competition of sellers, or to obtain the cotton manufactures of Bengal at too low a price.

It may also be remarked, that these pretended Moorish, or American ships from Goa, only bring English goods; and as these modes of disguising them are attended with additional expences, this falls ultimately on the consumer. Thus the difference between the price in India, and that of Manilla, no longer continues at 50 per cent, but has risen to 60  
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and even to 80. With this error is combined, that of the exclusive right of the Company, to purchase the productions of the island of Luconia, whose industry not being excited by a competition of buyers, will ever continue in the inert state, to which it owes its insignificance for the two last centuries. Many other authors have spoken of the civil and military government of Manilla, I therefore thought it my business, to make the reader acquainted with that city, under the new point of view, which the establishment of this new Company has perhaps rendered interesting, particularly in an age, when all men who are to hold an elevated rank in the state, ought to understand the theory of commerce.

The Spaniards have some settlements in the various islands to the southward of Luconia; but they seem only to be on sufferance there, and their situation in Luconia does not induce the inhabitants of the other islands to acknowledge their sovereignty. On the contrary, they are always at war with them. These pretended Moors, of whom I have already spoken, and who infest their coasts, making very frequent descents, and carrying into captivity the Indians of both sexes, who are under the Spanish yoke, are the inhabitants of Mindanao, Mindoro, and Panay. They acknowledge no authority but that of their respective princes who are called Sultans, with as little propriety, as these people are called Moors. In fact they are Malays, and have embraced Mahometism, nearly at the same period that Christianity began to be preached at Manilla. The Spaniards have denominated them Moors, and their sovereigns Sultans, in consequence of the identity of their religion, with that of the nations of the same name in Africa, who have for so many centuries been at enmity with Spain. The only military establishment of the Spaniards, in the southern Philippines, is that of Zamboangan in the island of Mindanao, where they keep a garrison of



of 150 men, under the command of a military Governor, who is appointed by the Governor General of Manilla. In the other islands are only a few villages, defended by bad batteries, served by militia, and commanded by Alcaydes, nominated by the Governor General, but eligible from all classes of citizens, who are not soldiers. The real masters of the various islands, where these Spanish villages are situated, would soon destroy them, had they not a very important interest in their preservation. These Moors, though at peace when at home in their own islands, fit out vessels to commit piracies on the coast of Luconia, and the Alcaydes purchase a very great number of the slaves made by these pirates, which saves them the trouble of carrying their prisoners to Batavia, where they would obtain a much lower price. These particulars pourtray the weakness of the government of the Philippines, better than all the reasonings of the various navigators, who have visited them. The reader will perceive, that the Spaniards are not strong enough to protect the commerce of their vast possessions, and all the benefits conferred by them on the natives, have hitherto had no other object, than their happiness in a future life.

We staid but a few hours at Manilla. The Governor having taken leave of us immediately after dinner, to take his siesta or afternoon nap, we were at liberty to visit M. Sebir, who rendered us the most essential services during our stay in the bay of Manilla. This French merchant, the most enlightened of our countrymen, whom I have met with in the seas of China, had imagined, the new Philippine Company, and the intimacy of the cabinets of Madrid and Versailles, would procure him the means of extending his speculations, which were cramped by the re-establishment of the French East India Company. He had consequently settled all his affairs at Canton, and at Macao, where he had been many years estab-  
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fished, and had formed a house of trade at Manilla, where he also solicited the decision of a very important law-suit, in which one of his friends was concerned; but he already perceived, that the prejudices against foreigners, and the despotism of the administration, would be insuperable obstacles to the accomplishment of his wishes, and at the time of our arrival, he proposed rather to wind up all his affairs, than to encrease their ramifications.

We returned to our boats at six in the evening, and got on board our ships at eight; but being apprehensive, that while employed in repairing our ships at Cavita, the biscuit and flour contractors, &c. would make us the victims of the inactivity, so general among merchants of that nation, I thought it necessary, to order an officer to reside at Manilla, and every day to visit the various agents, to whom the Intendant had introduced us. I made choice of M. de Vaujuas, one of the lieutenants of the *Astrolabe*. That officer, however, soon wrote me, that his stay at Manilla was useless, as Don Gonzalo Carnagual, Intendant of the Philippines, was so careful of our interest, that he went round every day himself, to watch the progress of the workmen employed for our ships, and that his vigilance was equally active, as if he had been himself engaged in the expedition. His obliging and ready attention, demand a public testimony of our gratitude; His cabinet of natural history was thrown open to our naturalists, to whom he presented a part of his collection, in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, and at the moment of our departure, I received from him a complete double collection of shells found in the Philippine seas. Thus his desire to serve us, extended to every thing that could be interesting to us.

A week after our arrival at Manilla, we received a letter from M. Elstockenstrom, the principal supercargo of the Swedish East India Company, apprising us,



us, he had sold our otter skins for 10,000 piaſtres, and giving us permiſſion to draw for that ſum. I was very deſirous to procure this money at Manilla, in order to diſtribute among the ſailors, who having left Macao without receiving it, were apprehenſive their hopes would never be realized. M. Sebir had at that time no remittance to make to Macao, and we had recourſe to Don Gonzalo, to whom every thing of this nature was entirely foreign, but who made uſe of the influence his amiable character procured him, over the various merchants of Manilla, to induce them to diſcount our bills : and the produce was divided among the ſailors previous to our departure.

The great heats of Manilla now began to produce ſome bad effects upon our crews, and ſome of the ſailors were attacked with colics, which were not, however, attended with ſerious conſequences. But Meſſrs. de Lamanon and Daigremont, who had brought ſome ſymptoms of dysentery from Macao, cauſed probably by a checked perſpiration, in lieu of finding relief on ſhore, grew worſe there, inſomuch that M. Daigremont was given over the 23d day after our arrival, and died on the 25th. This was the ſecond perſon who died on board the *Aſtrolabe*. We had not experienced any ſimilar miſfortune on board the *Bouſſole*, although, perhaps, in general, our crew had enjoyed an inferior ſtate of health to that of the *Aſtrolabe*. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the ſervant who died during our run from Chili to Eaſter Iſland, was conſumptive when he came on board, and M. de Langle only yielded to the requeſt of his maſter, who flattered himſelf that the ſea air and warm climates would effect his cure. As to M. Daigremont, in ſpite of his phyſicians, and unknown to his friends and companions, he tried to cure himſelf with burnt brandy, pimento, and other medicines, which the moſt robuſt could not have withſtood ; and he fell a victim to his own imprudence, and the dupe of the too high opinion

opinion he entertained of the strength of his constitution.

On the 28th of March all our labours at Cavita were finished; our boats built, our sails repaired, the rigging overhauled, our ships completely caulked, and our salt provisions barrellled up. This last operation we were unwilling to entrust with the agents at Manilla, as we knew the salt provisions of the galleons never kept sweet three months; and our confidence in the method practised by Captain Cook was very great. A copy of the process, used by Captain Cook, was therefore given to each salter, and we superintended this new species of labour ourselves. We had on board both salt and vinegar from Europe, and we only purchased pigs of the Spaniards, and these at a very moderate price.

The opportunities of communication between Manilla and China were so frequent, that we received news from Macao every week. By these we learned, with the greatest astonishment, the arrival of *la Résolution* under the command of M. d'Entrecasteaux, and *la Subtile* frigate, under that of M. la Croix de Castries, in the river of Canton. These ships had left Batavia when the N. E. monsoon was in full force, had run to the eastward of the Philippines, coasted New Guinea, traversed seas that are full of shoals, without even having a chart of them on board, and after a navigation of 70 days, were at length arrived at the mouth of the river of Canton, where they anchored the day after our departure. The astronomical observations they made during this voyage will be extremely important towards the knowledge of these seas, always open to ships that have missed the monsoon; and it is very astonishing, that our East India Company should make choice, for the command of the ship which lost its voyage this year, of a Captain who was totally ignorant of this track.

At Manilla I received a letter from M. d'Entrecasteaux,



teaux, informing me of the motives of his voyage; and presently after la Subtile frigate brought me further dispatches.

M. la Croix de Castries, who had doubled the Cape of Good Hope in company with the Calypso, brought us the news of Europe. But these news were dated the 24th of April, and we had an interval of a whole year to regret in unsatisfied curiosity. Nor had our families and friends taken this opportunity to write to us; and in the state of tranquillity which Europe enjoyed, our interest in its political events was comparatively feeble, to that which agitated our individual hopes and fears. It afforded us, however, an additional opportunity to convey letters to France. La Subtile was so well manned, as to permit M. la Croix de Castries partly to repair the loss of soldiers and officers we had suffered in America. He transferred to each of our ships an officer and four men. M. Guyet, *enseigne de vaisseau*, came on board the Boussole, and M. de Gobien, *garde de la marine*, on board the Astrolabe. This recruit was very necessary, as we had eight officers less than at our departure from France, including M. de Saint-Ceran, whose impaired state of health obliged me to send him to the Isle of France, on board la Subtile, as all the surgeons declared it impossible for him to continue the voyage.

In the mean while our provisions were put on board at the time we had previously fixed; but Passion-week, which suspends all business at Manilla, occasioned some delay in our individual wants, and I was obliged to fix my departure for Easter Monday: for the N. E. monsoon being still very strong, a sacrifice of three or four days could not be injurious to our expedition. On the 3d of April we got all our astronomical instruments on board. M. Dagelet had not, since our departure from France, met with a more commodious spot for ascertaining, with precision, the rate of the time-keeper, No. 19, having erected our observatory

servatory in the Governor's garden, about 120 toises from our ships. The longitude of Cavita, deduced from a great number of lunar observations, was  $118^{\circ} 50' 40''$  east\*, and its latitude, taken with a quadrant of three feet radius,  $14^{\circ} 29' 9''$  north. Had we determined its longitude, according to the daily loss, attributed at Macao to our time-keeper, No. 19, it would have been  $118^{\circ} 46' 8''$ , that is  $4' 32''$  less than the result of our lunar observations.

Before we set sail, I thought it my duty to go with M. de Langle, to make our acknowledgments to the governor-general, for the dispatch with which his orders had been executed; and still more particularly to the intendant, from whom we had experienced so many marks of politeness and friendship. Having discharged these duties, we both took advantage of a residence of forty-eight hours at M. Sebir's, to visit, either in a boat or a carriage, the environs of Manilla. Though we saw no superb houses, parks, or gardens, yet Nature unadorned is here so beautiful, that a simple Indian village on the bank of the river, or a house in the European style, surrounded by a few trees, afford a view far more picturesque than that of our most magnificent mansions; and the coldest imagination cannot avoid portraying to itself undisturbed happiness smiling amidst this delightful simplicity. Almost all the Spaniards are accustomed to quit their town residence immediately after Easter, and to pass the season of the scorching heats in the country. They have not attempted to embellish a country, which has no need of the aids of art. A neat and spacious house, built on the edge of the water, and furnished with the most commodious baths, though destitute

\* See the explanation of the method of taking longitudes, in the tables of the routes of our ships, from Manilla to Kamtschatka, given by M. Dagelet, and inserted at the end of the second volume.  
—French Editor.



of vistas, avenues, or gardens, and only shaded by fruit trees, forms the dwellings of the richest citizens; and this country would be one of the most charming spots in the world to live in, if a milder government and fewer prejudices rendered the civil liberty of the inhabitants more secure. The fortifications of Manilla have been augmented by the governor-general, under the direction of Senor Sauz, a skilful engineer; but the garrison is far from numerous, and consists, in time of peace, of a single regiment of infantry, composed of two battalions, each comprehending a company of grenadiers, and eight of fusileers: the two battalions forming together a body of 1300 effective men. In this regiment, which is composed of Mexicans, all the soldiers are of the colour of mulattoes, and it is asserted they are not inferior, either in valour or intelligence, to European troops. There are also two companies of artillery, commanded by a lieutenant colonel, each composed of 80 men, whose officers are a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, and a supernumerary; three companies of dragoons who form a squadron of 150 horse, commanded by the oldest of the three Captains, and lastly, a battalion of 1200 militia, formerly raised and paid by a very rich Chinese Meti, named Tuasson, who was ennobled. All the soldiers of this corps are Chinese Metis, do the same duty in the town as the regulars, and now receive the same pay, but they would be of little use in war. In case of need 8000 militia might be raised in a very short time, divided into provincial battalions, and commanded by European officers. Each battalion has a company of grenadiers. One of these companies has been disciplined by a serjeant, taken from the regiment at Manilla; and the Spaniards, although more prone to decry than panegyrisé the valour and merit of the Indians, assert that this company is in no respect inferior to the regiment of Europe.

The little garrison of Samboangan, in the island of Mindaneo, is not taken from that of the island of Luconia. Two corps, of 150 men each, have been formed for the Mariana Islands, and for that of Mindaneo, and these corps are invariably appropriated to those colonies.

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